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*Augustanism in Henry James:*

*His Reception of Horace, Virgil, Livy & Tacitus*

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*Augustanism in Henry James: His Reception of Horace, Virgil, Livy & Tacitus*

This thesis examines the influence of Latin literature and values on the fiction of Henry James, with particular reference to the authors who wrote under Augustus, the first emperor of Rome. The similarities between their works and his are analysed in terms of structure, style, setting, plot, theme, imagery, characterisation and didacticism by close readings and comparisons of the texts. The writings to be compared are Horace's *Odes* with James's "Daisy Miller," Virgil's *Aeneid* with *The Ambassadors*, and the histories of Livy and Tacitus with *The Golden Bowl*. In the end, this dissertation attempts to demonstrate how the morals that James sought to commend to his young and burgeoning America were based on those of the ancient Augustan age, a period that he may have believed bore a strong resemblance to his own times, while he may also have felt that emulation and appropriation of these canonical classical writers could help him to become a classic himself. The results of this enquiry are offered as a contribution to both classical reception studies and Jamesian studies.

*a mia madre*

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- 3      Turner, Joseph Mallord William. (1812) *Snow Storm: Hannibal and His Army Crossing the Alps* [Oil on canvas]. Tate Gallery, London. *Wikimedia Commons* [Online]. Available at: [http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Joseph\\_Mallord\\_William\\_Turner\\_081.jpg](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Joseph_Mallord_William_Turner_081.jpg) (Accessed: 15 April 2015). 43
  
- 4      Anonymous. (c. AD 90) *Portrait of a woman of the Flavian period* [Marble]. Hall of the Emperors, Palazzo Nuovo, Capitoline Museums, Rome. *Wikimedia Commons* [Online]. Available at: <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Matronalivia2.jpg> (Accessed: 15 April 2015). Courtesy of Ricardo André Frantz under the Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported license. 46



*Abbreviations*

<i>AL</i>	<i>American Literature</i>
<i>Am</i>	James, H., <i>The Ambassadors</i> , Penguin
<i>Ant. Rom.</i>	<i>Antiquitates Romanae</i> (Roman Antiquities) by Dionysius of Halicarnassus
<i>Au</i>	James, H., <i>Autobiography</i>
<i>Aug.</i>	August
<i>August.</i>	Saint Augustine
<i>Conf.</i>	<i>Confessions</i>
BSGRT	Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana
<i>c.</i>	circa
<i>Cass. Dio</i>	Cassius Dio
<i>Cat.</i>	Sallust, <i>Bellum Catilinae</i> (War of Catiline) or <i>De Catilinae coniuratione</i> (On Catiline's Conspiracy)
CGLC	Cambridge Greek and Latin Classics
<i>Cic.</i>	<i>Marcus Tullius Cicero</i>
<i>Cael.</i>	<i>Pro Caelio</i>
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
<i>CLHJ 1855-72</i>	<i>The Complete Letters of Henry James, 1855-1872</i>
<i>CLHJ 1872-6</i>	<i>The Complete Letters of Henry James, 1872-1876</i>
<i>CLHJ 1876-8</i>	<i>The Complete Letters of Henry James, 1876-1878</i>
<i>CN</i>	<i>The Complete Notebooks of Henry James</i>
<i>CP</i>	<i>The Complete Plays of Henry James</i>
<i>CS</i>	James, H., <i>Complete Stories</i>

<i>CTW</i>	James, H., <i>Collected Travel Writings</i>
Dec.	December
Diss.	Doctoral dissertation
Donat.	<i>Aelius Donatus</i>
<i>Vit. Verg.</i>	<i>Vita Vergilii</i>
Ed./ed.	Editor / editor / edited by
edn.	edition
eds.	Editors
EL	Everyman's Library
esp.	especially
Euseb.	Eusebius of Caesarea
<i>Vit. Const.</i>	<i>Vita Constantini</i> (Life of Constantine)
Fig.	Figure
GCS	Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der Ersten Jahrhunderte
Hdn.	Herodian(us)
<i>Hist.</i>	<i>Historiae</i> (Histories)
<i>HJC</i>	<i>Henry James on Culture</i>
<i>HJL</i>	<i>Henry James: Letters</i>
<i>HJR</i>	<i>Henry James Review</i>
Hom.	Homer
<i>Il.</i>	Iliad
<i>Od.</i>	Odyssey

<i>Hor.</i>	Quintus Horatius (Horace) Flaccus
<i>Ars P.</i>	<i>Ars Poetica</i> (Art of Poetry)
<i>Epist.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i> (Epistles)
<i>Epod.</i>	<i>Epodi</i> (Epodes)
<i>Sat.</i>	<i>Satirae</i> (Satires)
<i>Iug.</i>	Sallust, <i>Bellum Iugurthinum</i> (Jugurthine War)
Jan.	January
<i>LC</i>	James, H., <i>Literary Criticism</i>
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
<i>Leg.</i>	<i>De legibus</i> (On the Laws) by Cicero
LoA	Library of America
Macrobian.	<i>Ambrosius Theodosius Macrobius</i>
<i>Sat.</i>	<i>Saturnalia</i>
<i>MLN</i>	<i>Modern Language Notes</i>
<i>N</i>	James, H., <i>Novels</i>
n.	footnote
N&Q	<i>Notes and Queries</i>
<i>NCF</i>	<i>Nineteenth-Century Fiction</i>
Nov.	November
<i>NYE</i>	<i>The Novels and Tales of Henry James</i>
<i>NYRB</i>	<i>New York Review of Books</i>
OCT	Oxford Classical Texts
Oct.	October
OET	Oxford English Texts
<i>OLD</i>	Glare, <i>Oxford Latin Dictionary</i> (2 <sup>nd</sup> edn.)

Ov.	<i>Publius Ovidius Naso</i>
<i>Ars am.</i>	<i>Ars amatoria</i>
<i>Fast.</i>	<i>Fasti</i>
<i>Her.</i>	<i>Heroides</i>
<i>Met.</i>	<i>Metamorphoses</i>
Plut.	<i>L. Mestrius Plutarchus</i>
<i>Alex.</i>	Alexander the Great
<i>Cam.</i>	Camillus
<i>Marc.</i>	Marcellus
<i>Num.</i>	Numa
<i>Sert.</i>	Sertorius
<i>Thes.</i>	Theseus
PMLA	<i>Publications of the Modern Language Association</i>
P	Press
Plin.	Pliny (the Elder)
<i>HN</i>	<i>Naturalis historia</i> (Natural History)
Plin.	Pliny (the Younger)
<i>Ep.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>
Polyb.	Polybius
Prop.	Sextus Propertius
r.	reign
Rev.	Revised
Rpt.	Reprinted

Sen.	<i>Lucius Annaeus Seneca (the Younger)</i>
<i>Ben.</i>	<i>De beneficiis</i>
Sept.	September
SHA	<i>Scriptores Historiae Augustae (or Historia Augusta)</i>
<i>M. Ant.</i>	<i>Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (Caracalla)</i>
<i>Sev.</i>	<i>(Septimius) Severus</i>
Suet.	<i>Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus</i>
<i>Aug.</i>	<i>Augustus</i>
<i>Calig.</i>	<i>Gaius (Caligula)</i>
<i>Dom.</i>	<i>Titus Flavius Domitianus</i>
<i>Iul.</i>	<i>Gaius Julius Caesar</i>
<i>Ner.</i>	<i>Nero</i>
<i>Tib.</i>	<i>Tiberius</i>
<i>Vita Hor.</i>	<i>Vita Horatii (Life of Horace)</i>
Tac.	<i>Cornelius Tacitus</i>
<i>Agr.</i>	<i>Agricola</i>
<i>Ann.</i>	<i>Annales (Annals)</i>
<i>Dial.</i>	<i>Dialogus de oratoribus (Dialogue on the Orators)</i>
TAPA	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i>
Ter.	<i>Publius Terentius (Terence) Afer</i>
<i>An.</i>	<i>Andria</i>
<i>Phorm.</i>	<i>Phormio</i>
U	University
UP	University Press
Vell. Pat.	Velleius Paterculus

Virg.	<i>Publius Vergilius (Virgil) Maro</i>
<i>Aen.</i>	<i>Aeneidos</i>
<i>Catal.</i>	<i>Catalepton (Trifles)</i>
<i>Ecl.</i>	<i>Eclogae (Eclogues/Bucolics)</i>
<i>G.</i>	<i>Georgica (Georgics)</i>
WWS	James, H., <i>William Wetmore Story and His Friends</i>

*Preface*

The Modern Language Association style has been adopted with one minor variation whereby the medium of publication consulted is only specified in the bibliography when it is from the Internet, otherwise it is always “print.”

Although the *Oxford World's Classics* series has recently published quite a few of Henry James's writings with useful texts, introductions and notes, for the sake of consistency the *Library of America* (LoA) series has been referenced since they have come to be regarded as the standard edition.

### *Acknowledgments*

“No man is an island, entire of itself,” writes John Donne, and this project is proof of that statement. My first and greatest thanks must go to my supervisor Prof. Norman Vance for his invaluable advice, knowledge, assistance and support in every facet connected with this dissertation and beyond. I will never forget his limitless patience, humour and belief in my ideas. The University of Sussex in general deserves my thanks as well for its flexibility and understanding, making this international experience run smoothly and effectively, while the library’s website in particular proved invaluable to my research.

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The second chapter was proofread by Prof. Kerry Hull of Brigham Young University when we worked together at Reitaku University where I currently am. I owe much, also, to Reitaku for giving me the time and space to finish this thesis and especially to the library for procuring many of my requests.



I am indebted, too, to Prof. Pierre A. Walker at Salem State University for answering questions about rare Jamesian sources, six references of which are not in the two volumes of *Literary Criticism* by the Library of America.

Finally, I would never have completed this academic odyssey without the constant encouragement of all my friends and family members, in particular my mother, Ines Lo Dico, the person most responsible for introducing me to the classical tradition.

## *Introduction*

Americans are often inspired by Graeco-Roman antiquity. From William Henry commissioning Benjamin West to paint *The Death of Socrates* in 1756 as an oath painting for Pennsylvanians in the French and Indian War (1754-6; Gordon)<sup>1</sup> to the recent television series *Spartacus* (2010-3), North America has constantly invoked the classical tradition. Henry James, one of the United States' greatest novelists, was no exception; and it is in this context that his writings will be studied, with especial attention paid to his reception of the Golden and Silver Age Latin authors. The study will analyse, compare and comment on the structures, styles, settings, plots, themes, characterisations and didacticism of his fiction in relation to the works of Horace, Virgil, Livy and Tacitus in particular. Together these last four historical figures and their literary legacies embody the values that the first emperor of Rome, Augustus, endeavored to instil into his people. By acknowledging this influence the dissertation will attempt to demonstrate how the lessons that James wanted to teach his own America were based on those of the ancient Augustan age, a period that in some cultural and political respects bore a striking resemblance to his own times.

### *Terminology*

First and foremost, some similar, and therefore potentially confusing, terms need to be addressed. Classicism in this thesis is broadly defined as the cultural, especially literary, influence of the Graeco-Romans on the post-classical world; i.e., after the traditional date of the fall of the Western half of the Roman Empire, AD 476. Neoclassicism has a narrower meaning, referring to the artistic movement from the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century to the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century as found mostly in Northern

---

<sup>1</sup> This was the first of West's many works considered by Flexner to be some of the finest examples of American Neoclassicism (34, 45-49, 58-59, 314-40). Henry James visited his grave in London (CN 279).

Europe. It was an orderly and simple response to the hyperbolic style of Rococo, returning to the classical ideals of symmetry and perfection. This renewed interest in antiquity also derived from such great archaeological discoveries as Pompeii in 1749 and Troy in the late 1860s. This visual dimension of classical antiquity accompanied and deepened James's creative and appropriative response to classical texts. At about the age of 12, James visited the *Galerie d'Apollon* in Paris where its many Neoclassical paintings represented for him his first "bridge over to Style [sic]" (Au 196).

Most of the definition of Augustanism by Howard Erskine-Hill is convenient for the purpose of this study:

The grateful view of Virgil and Horace; the penetrating and hostile view of Tacitus; and the Christian providential view of Eusebius, each quite different from the others, are the major components of what may for the sake of brevity be termed the Augustan Idea. (xii)

The first two secular meanings are those most often employed here, while the third and last religious one will rarely appear as it entails a different tradition altogether.

Augustanism here will be used in an extended sense, a shorthand for deference to or imitation of early imperial Rome in any modern period, and will not refer just to the 18<sup>th</sup> century period of British literature starting from the reign of Queen Anne (1702-14) and ending with the deaths of Alexander Pope and Jonathan Swift in 1744 and 1745, respectively, or the American Neoclassicism of roughly the same period.<sup>2</sup>

### *Literature Review*

#### **Hellenism in Jamesian Studies**

As Ward Briggs stated in 2007 "[m]ost surveys of the US classical tradition stop where Reinhold does, at the end of the 'Silver Age' of the Classical Tradition, 1830, yet there is a rich vein still to be mined in the late nineteenth and early twentieth

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<sup>2</sup> For the American "Augustans," see R. H. Pearce 501-43 as well as Jehlen and Warner 1011.

centuries” (293-94). When this classical perspective is narrowed to Augustanism, most research ends even earlier – at Alexander Pope (1688-1744) – as Erskine-Hill’s seminal study *The Augustan Idea in English Literature* does. This dearth of knowledge about post-1830 American classicism/Augustanism, therefore, certainly applies to Henry James (1843-1916).

The influence of the Greek half of antiquity on the American novelist has, however, received a reasonable amount of attention. Daniel Lerner and Oscar Cargill in 1951 were the first to show how *The Bostonians* contained aspects of Sophocles’ *Antigone* (317, 319-24, 327-29) and *Electra* (319, 323-24, 329), while parts of the *Medea* by Euripides could be found in *The Other House* (327, 329-31). Despite this enlightening response, Lerner and Cargill nevertheless confessed that with the former novel

James has failed to unite the essentially comic and essentially tragic elements in his impossible synthesis of Yankee materials, Daudet's *L'Evangeliste*, Sophocles’ *Antigone*, and what-have-you. It is a great, and from a modern point of view, a very interesting effort, but it is none the less a failure. (327)

Failure or not, ancient references were duly noted and critics have been finding more ever since, and they are not limited to *The Bostonians* and *The Other House*. To list these Greek allusions would be besides the point of this dissertation which focuses on the Latin half of the ancient world, but it should suffice to mention that traces of Greek epic, drama, mythology, history, rhetoric, philosophy and even non-literary works such as art and architecture have all been detected in both the fiction and non-fiction of Henry James. The latest instance is Anna Kventsel who in 2007 claimed that Eros (65-6), Oedipus (66), tragedy in general (98) and Aristotle’s *Poetics* (117, 207-10) can be seen at work in *The Wings of the Dove*, *The Ambassadors* and *The Golden Bowl*.

### ***Romanitas* and Jamesian Studies**

As Aladár Sarbu succinctly puts it, “Hellenism for James, may not be the most appropriate phrase, as his classical background is overwhelmingly Roman in character” (258). The appendices below support this statement. At the back of this dissertation are two sets of ancient references in the Jamesian canon: A) those from his plays, representing his fiction, and B) those from his notebooks, representing his non-fiction. (Perhaps his tales or novels and travelogues or letters would have been more accurate, but sheer volume rendered them unwieldy.) Both sets are subdivided into three lists: 1) the generic classical allusions, 2) the specifically Greek ones and 3) the specifically Roman. As can be seen, when contrasting the 2s with their corresponding 3s, there are more Roman references in James’s writings, both his fiction and non-fiction, than Greek ones.

What is more, much of the critical tradition is concerned only with James and post-classical Rome, or James and Rome as archaeological location and cultural memory, without paying much attention to James and Latin literature. The first study in Jamesian criticism on the Italian capital was published by Edward Stone in 1951, appropriately titled “Henry James and Rome,” relating in less than three pages the love-hate relationship James had with the Eternal City throughout his career. A recently published letter from Christmas 1869 confirms this sentiment after only his first visit:

As for Rome – by this time it’s an old story. I leave it with regret but without those pangs of outraged affection which I felt on quitting Florence. But these latter pangs are soon ~~two~~ to be healed. (*CLHJ* 1855-72 2: 237)

and in the winter of 1873 when he called the capital “indeed a strange compound; you can pick it to pieces & leave it not a stone to stand on & – & yet it stands!” (1872-6 1: 192). Stone’s essay was followed up in 1965 by John Lucas’s “Manliest of Cities: The

Image of Rome in Henry James” which explained how James used Roman settings, both ancient and modern, as literary devices. Anna Tommassetti continued this argument in 1982 with “Impressioni romane di Henry James,” “The Roman Impressions of Henry James,” by arguing that the city and now its citizens too seemed to be stereotyped by the Master. In his *The Eternal City: Roman Images in the Modern World* of 1987, Peter Bondanella claims that most of the 19th century Americans in Italy, including James, did not truly understand the country’s ancient Roman tradition (157-8). This train of thought culminated the next year when James W. Tuttleton (43) and Agostino Lombardo (230-2) concluded that the Italy James knew was only marginally historical and rather more artistically metaphorical – the capital being its prime example. John Lyon in 1999 (142-54), Pierre A. Walker the year after (15) and Elzbieta Foeller-Pituch in 2003 (“Henry James’s Cosmopolitan Spaces” 292) all agreed.

Indeed, an excerpt from a letter Henry James wrote in Florence to his sister Alice on 6 October 1869 partly supports this view:

I feel sadly the lack of that intellectual outfit which is needful for seeing Italy properly & speaking a word of her in words which shall be more than empty sounds – the lack of facts of all sorts – chiefly historical & architectural. A mind unprepared by the infusion of a certain amount of knowledge of this kind, languishes so beneath the weight of its impressions, light as they must necessarily be – that it is ready at times to give up the game as lost. Your only consolation is in the hope that you may be able by hook or crook to retain a few of the impressions & confront them with the facts in the leisure of subsequent years. (*CLHJ* 1855-72 2: 126-7)

At this time James was still young, and those “facts,” historical, visual and literary, would eventually be acquired and integrated into some of his greatest writings.

Of the more historically inclined studies on Jamesian Rome, most have been connected to art and architecture rather than classical texts. This is somewhat disconcerting as James himself once wrote in the *Eternal City* to his mother, “I have

had little time for reading. but [sic] yet Rome & Italy make one long to handle books” (*CLHJ* 1872-6 1: 219). Nevertheless, this seems to be the appropriate place to give a survey of studies on Roman visual arts organized in loosely chronological order of James’s publications. Peter Buitenhuis sees the evil statue of Venus in Prosper Mérimée’s<sup>3</sup> “La Vénus d’Ille” in three Jamesian characters: Hortense of “A Tragedy of Error” of 1864 (*The Grasping Imagination* 13), Lizzie of “The Story of a Year” of 1865 (18) and Esther Blunt (also known as Miriam<sup>4</sup> Quarterman in the 1885 edition) of “A Landscape Painter” of 1866 (20-1). P. R. Grover notes the Mérimée connection too without mentioning “La Vénus d’Ille” (“Mérimée’s Influence on Henry James” 816), however. Buitenhuis (*The Grasping Imagination* 34) also extends the influence of the French tale to “A Most Extraordinary Case” (1868). Many scholars see the French story as an influence on “The Romance of Certain Old Clothes” (1868), “De Grey: A Romance” of 1868 (Grover “Mérimée’s” 815) and “The Last of the Valerii”<sup>5</sup> of 1874,<sup>6</sup> while Alberta Fabris (85 n.28), Michael Tilby (166) and Cornelia Pulsifer Kelley (156-7) see it as inspiring “Adina” (1874). Jeanne Delbaere-Garant believes that it also enters the pages of *The Golden Bowl* of 1904 (“Early Seeds” 65-7, 70-9).<sup>7</sup> Be it the bust of Venus, Diana or Juno that is represented in his works, James is attracted to such statues of goddesses because they are beautiful and safer than the real thing, according to Leon Edel (*Henry James* 2: 264-5). Foeller-Pituch commented on

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<sup>3</sup> James considered the French writer to be a classicist of sorts, for so sharp a light does Mérimée throw, in his way, on the whole ‘[Neo]classic’ business in France, showing us both what queer things, in the old order, could go with it and what indispensable ones it could go without. (*LC* 2: 578)

Delbaere-Garant argues that Mérimée’s lifestyle was also the blueprint for “The Death of the Lion” of 1894 (*Henry James: The Vision of France* 127-9).

<sup>4</sup> Note the nomenclatural connection with the character in Nathaniel Hawthorne’s *The Marble Faun* (Long 16).

<sup>5</sup> “The Last of the Valerii” could also have been influenced by Théophile Gautier’s ancient Roman fantasy *Arria Marcella* according to Grover (“Mérimée’s” 812-3).

<sup>6</sup> Albers 435; Delbaere-Garant “Early Seeds in Jamesian Soil” 65-71, 73-75, 79; Grover “Mérimée’s” 811-14, 816; Naiburg 156; Tilby 166.

<sup>7</sup> Another Mérimée story, “Le vase étrusque” (“The Etruscan Vase”), could have been behind “Madame de Mauves” (1874) as well (Grover “Mérimée’s” 815).

the Pantheon in “The Last of the Valerii” (“Ambiguous Heritage” 107), while Walker (18-9) and Adeline R. Tintner (*The Museum World of Henry James* 41-2) mentioned the intaglio of the Emperor Tiberius in “Adina,”<sup>8</sup> with Sarbu touching upon both as well as the bust of Juno (263-70). John Carlos Rowe discusses these two tales along with the novels *Roderick Hudson* (1875) and *The Portrait of a Lady* (1880-1) in terms of the visual arts they contain for all four works “suggest the more general economy of commodification and fetishism characteristic of modernity’s misuses of the past” (“Henry James and Globalization” 209). He then goes on to write that

“The Aspern Papers” [1888] is full of references to more obvious conquerors with whom the narrator is compared in mock heroic mode: Admiral Nelson at Trafalgar, Napoleon at Austerlitz, the treasonous condottiere Bartolommeo Colleoni (sculpted by Verrocchio and [Alessandro] Leopardi), and the [equestrian] *Roman Emperor Marcus Aurelius* [in Rome].” (210 [my emphasis])<sup>9</sup>

William L. Vance studied the usage of the Colosseum in James’ fiction in the first of his two-volume work *America’s Rome* (43-67), which also includes sections on the Forum (1-42), the Campagna (68-153), the Pantheon (154-81) and the antiques in the Capitoline and Vatican museums (182-392), throughout all of which James is constantly invoked. Tintner also analysed the ancient statuary in many of the aforementioned stories along with *Roderick Hudson*, “The Solution” (1889) and “The Tree of Knowledge” of 1900 (*Museum* 35-48) as well as comparing them to paintings from the French Neoclassicists in “The Sweetheart of M. Briseux” of 1873 (49-51) and “The Siege of London” of 1883 (*Henry James and the Lust of the Eyes* 7-21).

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<sup>8</sup> Edel (*Henry James* 2: 103), Wright (224) and Anderson (154) have all discussed the Roman emperor Tiberius in historic terms with regard to “Adina.”

<sup>9</sup> On a more mythological, but still Roman, note, Kappeler sees the Misses Bordereau in this tale as twins, resembling to a certain extent Romulus and Remus (15).



To return briefly to “The Last of the Valerii,” it is true that the references to antiquity in the tale come almost exclusively in the form of the visual arts. Nathalia Wright notes that Martha Valerio hoped that the uncovered Juno would be a Minerva (224), while Robert Emmet Long comments on the Count looking at a Hermes (29). Tintner remarks that Count Valerio’s description (CS 1: 798-9) follows that of a bust of the Roman emperor Caracalla (Fig. 1) and also discusses the Pantheon (*Museum* 35-7),



Fig. 1

while she (36) and Albers (435-6) add that *The Marble Faun* and its dealings with art played a part in shaping the short story as well. Even a forthcoming survey on classicism in 19<sup>th</sup> century American literature conducted by Paul Giles continues to use “The Last of the Valerii” and its art historical references to measure the ancient legacy in James with very little mention of any classical literature.<sup>10</sup> Although the short story is a very good example of the classical tradition because it is in many ways about classicism itself and has influenced in turn the chamber opera *The Voice of Ariadne* of 1972-3 (Boren 2), the literary gap in the classical tradition of Jamesian studies remains. Tintner once described the Rome in *Roderick Hudson* as “all museum” (*Museum* 43), but as will be seen that novel along with the rest of his writings can also be viewed as a library.

This idea of ancient, namely Latin, authors influencing James was first briefly pursued in 1978 when Pauline Lester suggested that James gave Oronte of “The Real Thing” (1892) an Italian nationality because “he may have had in mind the Roman comedies in which this type [‘the clever servant who gets his master out of a jam’] originated” (37). It was not really until the early 1980s when Latin authors began to be specifically addressed in scholarship with Elizabeth Block claiming that “[h]is treatment of Rome, and his apprehension of the city as a mixture of allure and degeneration, beauty and ugliness, originate in the literature of the Augustan age” (159). The literary evidence for this statement is limited, however, because

[t]he traces of classical Rome found in James are not allusions in any technical sense; rather, they are the imaginative distillation of a culture only vaguely grasped and recalled with deliberate vagueness.” (142)

George A. Kennedy seemed to take this information on complete faith when he stated

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<sup>10</sup> I thank Paul Giles and my supervisor Norman Vance, one of the two editors of the fourth volume of *The Oxford History of the Classical Reception in English Literature, 1790-1880* (forthcoming in 2015) in which this essay will be found, for letting me preview it. N. Vance has also noted a similar situation with the Italian poet Giacomo Leopardi (*The Victorians and Ancient Rome* 19).

in 1987 that:

Carrying over the spirit of critics of society in Victorian England into the American experience, the realistic novel of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century is the first major movement in the history of literature without debt to the classics. Greece and Rome are irrelevant. A gulf widens. (17)

He qualifies this statement later, however, with a confession:

I said earlier that to the major American novelists of the turn of the century the classics were irrelevant. That observation was based on a casual reading of Howells and James and Wharton and others. (20)

He then persists by using an example from Howells (21), but James is never addressed. Foeller-Pituch in 1995 concluded that Americans such as James received the classical tradition “only in marble and in books” (“Ambiguous Heritage” 108), but provides examples of the former alone. Instead of conducting more research on the issue, Adrian Poole two years later simply took for granted that “allusions to classical literature are fairly scarce in James, and they rarely carry much weight” (76). As a result, this dissertation aims to fill this classical literary gap left in Jamesian criticism, especially the Roman half, by concentrating on four Latin authors and the impressions that they left on James’s work. These ancient writers, namely Horace, Virgil, Livy and Tacitus, will be dealt with in three main chapters, the last pair of historians assessed together in one since they represent two sides of the same coin.

To summarise, although there are some studies on the classics and Henry James, most tend to be brief, scattered and, more often than not, mere comments in passing. Furthermore, most of the research has been conducted on the visual arts side of this topic, while the ancient authors and their writings, especially the Roman ones, are rarely discussed. Such analyses, moreover, are usually done within the context of Italian studies in Jamesian criticism. It is the aim here, therefore, to expand this area of enquiry by concentrating specifically on Henry James’s classicism. By firmly

establishing him in the classical tradition a fuller understanding of the novelist along with a greater appreciation for his work in its historical context can be attained.

Consequently the goal of this dissertation becomes two-fold, for it attempts to contribute to both classical reception studies and Jamesian studies.

### *Methodology*

References, both direct and oblique, to Graeco-Roman literature play a vital role in this study. The former, more objective allusions, such as mention of the author's name or quotations in either the original Latin or translation, will be presented at the beginning of each of the following three main chapters simply in order to demonstrate as plainly as possible knowledge of the Roman writer and his work. The latter, more subjective references consisting of similarities in structure, style, plot, theme, setting, characterization and didacticism will make up the remainder of each chapter in order to argue *how* each author in question is being used for the particular Jamesian work. In between these two, furthermore, all other Greek and Roman allusions found in each novel will be brought forth to show that the writing is indeed classicised.

Henry James is not the only 19<sup>th</sup> century novelist to have employed ancient Rome and the various symbols associated with it. British author Edward George Earl Bulwer-Lytton, for instance, used the famous eruption of Mount Vesuvius in his *The Last Days of Pompeii* (1834) as a divine sign that Christianity was “the bracing tonic that will prevent moral decay and imperial decline” (Malamud 133). The Julio-Claudian dynasty is the backdrop for the American Lew Wallace's *Ben-Hur: A Tale of the Christ* (1880), which has (broadly) similar (but more pronounced) religious overtones. From 1895 to 1896, the Pole and the eventual Nobel Prize winner Henryk (Adam Aleksander Pius) Sienkiewicz serialised his love story about Christian martyrs

*Quo vadis: Powieść z czasów Nerona* (*Quo Vadis? A Narrative of the Time of Nero*), translated into English in 1897, as a way of elevating Christian beliefs above pagan/secular ones. All three novels, according to Margaret Malamud, have “Roman cities and their luxury-loving citizens represent the dark side of empire, its corrupt, decadent, and oppressive face” (144), and Christianity was offered as the cure.

That America, especially in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, seemed destined to repeat the Roman cycle of losing its Republican values of liberty and equality in exchange for a tyrannical empire whose comforts would inevitably lead to corruption and decline as a whole was a concern voiced by many Americans. Henry Adams, a friend of James (they even met in Rome in March of 1873 [*CLHJ* 1872-6 1: 249, 250, 259]), wrote about his 1859-60 trip to the Italian capital in his autobiographical *The Education of Henry Adams* as follows:

Rome was not a beetle to be dissected and dropped; not a bad French novel to be read in a railway train and thrown out of the window after other bad French novels, the morals of which could never approach the immorality of Roman history. Rome was actual; it was England; it was going to be America. (803)

Much later, in 1905 at New York, he felt his prediction had come true:

A traveller in the highways of history looked out of the club window on the turmoil of Fifth Avenue, and felt himself in Rome, under Diocletian, witnessing the anarchy, conscious of the compulsion, eager for the solution, but unable to conceive whence the next impulse was to come or how it was to act. The two-thousand-years failure of Christianity roared upward from Broadway, and no Constantine the Great was in sight. (1176)

Instead of Christianity, Henry James offered Augustanism to his compatriots.

He did not like *Ben-Hur* (Malamud 133-4, Kennedy 16), and D. Lerner and O. Cargill arguably overstated

that James deliberately suppressed classical allusion in the bulk of his fiction, feeling perhaps that it was inappropriate to the contemporary tone he wished to give his writing, thinking that it would associate him as a novelist with [Sir Walter] Scott or Bulwer-Lytton. (317; see also Deakin 12)

Indeed, James did not like Sir Walter Scott either, as is evidenced by his negative remarks towards the Scottish writer's historical novel *Quentin Durward* in the third chapter, on Tours, of his *A Little Tour in France*:

His [Louis XI's] terrible castle of Plessis[-les-Tours], the picture of which sends a shiver through the youthful reader of Scott, has been reduced to suburban insignificance; [...]. The Maison de Tristan [l'Hermite] may be visited for itself, however, if not for Sir Walter; [...] (CTW 2: 36)

As for Bulwer-Lytton and his *The Last Days of Pompeii*, it still managed to find some way into *The Princess Casamassima* (1886) according to Edel and Tintner (79), even though James, who owned four of his books (24, 47), did not have that particular volume in his personal library. It would be difficult to imagine him feeling any different towards *Quo Vadis* for two reasons: first, because there is no evidence that he actually read it; and second, because he is an altogether more subtle and less dogmatic moralist, using the matter of Rome and its morals, both good and evil, to probe rather than to preach.

Although James claimed to be religious without officially subscribing to any organized religion (Au 337), he was nevertheless partial to the Catholic tradition, especially as represented by the Anglo-Catholics within the Anglican communion who also claimed to be "Catholic" during his time. He was less responsive to the theology, however, than to the symbolism behind its rituals and the cultural force of its tradition (Fussell). His classical references therefore are not "suppressed" as Lerner and Cargill thought, but rather merely implicit when contrasted with writings of his contemporaries who tend to be explicit, even ostentatious, in their Romanity.

This understated strategy suits the Jamesian style, which was much too refined for popular tastes. Cornelia P. Kelley (58) and Robert Cantwell (498-9, 504) think that James simply did not understand the lower class. Tintner adds that his erudite messages could only have been comprehended by the more educated members of

society (*Lust* 18). What is more, John C. Rowe suggests that James wrote in order to change “the attitudes and values of the ruling classes in England and the US who read his fiction” (“Nationalism and imperialism” 256); a tactic, incidentally, that the ancient Roman statesman and philosopher Cicero advocates (*Leg.* III.28), and that Augustus deployed – albeit unsuccessfully.<sup>11</sup> At the same time, Rowe contends that despite James’s often elitist sympathies, the novelist anticipated the cosmopolitanism recently expressed by philosopher and cultural theorist Kwame Anthony Appiah (“Henry James and the United States” 229-30). James, then, understood that if Augustan values were to have any impact, he would have to implement them in the upper classes first with the hope that a trickle-down effect would ensue, thus creating not only great Anglo-American literature but by extension great Anglo-American citizens as well.

James’s opinion of American culture, especially its literature, however, was not high, as his early letters reveal. Writing to Thomas Sargeant Perry in August of 1867, he informs his friend that “American literature is at a dreadful pass” (*CLHJ* 1855-72 1: 172). A month later, in another letter to Perry, he explains:

There is nothing new of course in the universe of American letters – except the projected resuscitation of Putnam’s Magazine. Great news, you see! We live over here in a thrilling atmosphere. – Well, I suppose there are thrills here; but they don’t [*sic*] come from the booksellers – not even from Ticknor & Fields, publishers of Every Saturday. (178)<sup>12</sup>

He hoped to improve the situation, however:

Deep in the timorous recesses of my being is a vague desire to do for our dear old English letters and writers something of what [Charles Augustin] Ste. Beuve & the best French critics have done for theirs. For one of my caliber it is an arrogant hope. Aussi I don’t talk about it. – To enter upon any such career I should hold it invaluable to spend two or three years on English soil – face to face with the English landscape, English monuments and English men and women. – At the thought of a study of this kind, on a serious scale, and of possibly having the health and time to pursue it, my ears fill with heavenly

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<sup>11</sup> Suet. *Aug.* LXXXIX.2; O’Keeffe 72, 78, 125-6; Rowell 203; Southern 146; C. Wells 89; Zanker 156-66.

<sup>12</sup> Italics and underlines indicate emphasis where the text quoted has italicised or underlined, unless otherwise indicated.

tears and my heart throbs with a divine courage. [...] When I say that I should like to do as Ste. Beuve has done, I dont [*sic*] mean that I should like to imitate him, or reproduce him in English; but only that I should like to acquire something of his intelligence, & his patience and vigour. One feels – I feel at least, that he is a man of the past, of a dead generation; and that we young Americans are (without cant) men of the future. I feel ~~as if~~ ^ that[ ^ ] my only chance for success as a critic is to let all the breezes of the west blow through me at their will. We are Americans born – il faut en prendre son parti [one must play his part]. I look upon it as a great blessing; and I think that to be an American is an excellent preparation for culture. We have exquisite qualities as a race, and it seems to me that we are ahead of the Europeans races in the fact that more than either of them we can deal freely with forms of civilization not our own, can pick and choose and assimilate and in short (aesthetically &c) claim our property wherever we find it. To have no national stamp has hitherto been a defect & a drawback; but I think it not unlikely that American writers may yet indicate that a vast intellectual fusion and synthesis of the various national tendencies of the world is the condition of more important achievements than any we have seen. We must of course have something of our own – something distinctive & homogeneous – & I take it that we shall find it in our “moral [*sic*] consciousness, our unprecedented spiritual lightness and vigour. In this sense at least we shall have a national cachet. – I expect nothing great during your lifetime or mine perhaps: but I my instincts quite agree with yours in looking to see something original and beautiful disengage itself from our ceaseless fermentation and turmoil. You see I am willing to leave it a matter of instinct. God speed the day. (179-80)

His instincts were keener than he himself had realized, for not only did that day of distinctive American literature arrive it did so in his lifetime after all and from his very own pen. Beyond becoming a revered critic, he is also a pioneering figure in the development of the modern novel, an accomplishment not only inspired by those British and French breezes that blew through him, but by those of the older Mediterranean civilisations as well, especially as undergirded by the classical tradition.

A couple of years later, when comparing Americans with Englishmen to his mother, he still preferred the latter for their cultured manners (*CLHJ* 1855-72 2: 144-5). This attitude can also be detected in his Canadian travelogue of 1871 which suggests that it was more generally a North American sentiment: “Something assures one that Quebec must be a city of gossip; for evidently it is not a city of culture” (*CTW* 1: 772).



For him America was “dreary” (*CLHJ* 1872-6 1: 190), he wrote his father in 1873, in contrast to “rich old Europe,” rich with a continuous cultural tradition that could be traced back to ancient Greece and Rome. And he informs his older brother William a few months later that there remains an “American want of culture” (255). In three letters of 1877, two to his mother (*1876-8* 1: 43, 77) and one to Perry (100) again, he places quotation marks around the phrase “American literature” as if to disparage the thought. In one of his notebooks two years later, there is a list of cultural absences: “the United States – a country without [...] a literature, without novels, [...]” (*CN* 12), a series which appeared soon after in his biography of Nathaniel Hawthorne and which “are absent from the texture of American life, [...]; no literature, no novels, [...]” (*LC* 1: 351-2). In fact, Hawthorne is the first and only true American artist whose

publication of *The Scarlet Letter* [1849] was in the United States a literary event of the first importance. The book was the finest piece of imaginative writing yet put forth in the country. There was a consciousness of this in the welcome was given it – a satisfaction in the idea of America having produced a novel that belonged to literature, and to the forefront of it. Something might at last be sent to Europe as exquisite in quality as anything that had been received, and the best of it was that the thing was absolutely American; it belonged to the soil, to the air; it came out of the very heart of New England. (*LC* 1: 402-3)

Although the classically well-grounded Sainte-Beuve was wholly internalized for James’s non-fiction,<sup>13</sup> Hawthorne was a more difficult act to follow for his fiction. As if to spur himself on, James has two Americans in “The Madonna of the Future” (1873) discuss at one point their home country’s cultural depravity in Florence; the one, a painter, complains about the lack of artistic inspiration that the United States

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<sup>13</sup> James’s early appreciation for the French critic never waned with time (*CLHJ* 1855-72 1: 129, 177-9, 213; 2: 146, 313; *1872-8* 1: 71, 331; 2: 51; *1876-8* 1: 118; 2: 66; *HJL* 4: 509, 720; *LC* 1: 112, 200-2, 208-10, 251, 723-5; 2: 9-10, 24, 31, 61, 77, 151, 159, 163, 177, 258, 265, 363, 409, 410, 413, 416-7, 426, 440, 588, 596, 603, 604, 609, 612, 633, 634, 648, 664-95, 706, 739, 743, 752, 756, 804-7, 811, 824, 826, 844, 849). From 13 December 1854 to 9 March 1855 Sainte-Beuve was also professor of Latin poetry at Collège de France, where he prepared a course on Virgil (*Billy* 2: 75-8). His “Qu’est-ce qu’un classique?” “What is a Classic?” is defined in heavily classical terms. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century Anglo-American T. S. Eliot asked the same question in his essay “What Is a Classic?” (1944), to which he proposed a similar response – Virgil (53-71).

provides in contrast to Italy's abundance, while the other, the narrator, argues that that is the challenge for an American artist (*CS* 1: 733-4). In an amalgamation of both views, the American Longmore of "Madame de Mauves" (1874) is in love with compatriot Euphemia de Mauves to whom he confesses that he has "an unfortunate taste for poetic fitness. Life is hard prose, and one must learn to read prose contentedly. I believe I once thought that all the prose was in America, which was foolish" (868), implying that she resembles a poem despite her nationality. In an interesting shift towards more artistic independence in his second novel, James portrays Roderick Hudson as a sculptor proud of his American origins, but when Rowland Mallet offers to take him to Rome he immediately accepts to go to "classic Italy" (*N* 1: 187-8). Despite the latter thinking that the United States are sufficient for artists (211), the former claims that he accomplishes more in an hour in the Eternal City than he can 20 years in America (231). James's conviction that Europe is his muse is cemented in "The Pension Beaurepas" (1879) where the American Mrs. Church states that the United States need more culture (*CS* 2: 423-4). As if to labour the point, this time *two* characters in "A Bundle of Letters" (1879), one French (496, 499) the other American (501, 503), both praise the culture of France while criticising that of the United States. Three years later, Miss Sturdy of "The Point of View" apologises for Americans, who merely need time to create art (534). S. Gorley Putt (131) senses "the lack of cultural resonance in" the Washington D.C. of "Pandora" (1884). In "The Aspern Papers" (1888) the narrator's description of his beloved American poet (*CS* 3: 259) sounds very much like the Hawthorne of James's biography, but the tale is set in Venice. Oliver Lyon of "The Liar" (1888) inspects a library that was "mainly American and humorous" (321), a suggestive collocation. In "Collaboration" (1892) French poet Félix Vendemer claims that "there's no such thing

as the American novel” (4: 242). Colonel Voyt of “The Story in It” (1902) mockingly agrees with Maud Blessingbourne that

if you can’t read the novel of the British and American manufacture, heaven knows I’m at one with you. It seems really to show our sense of life as the sense of puppies and kittens (5: 409-10),

but actually he sides with Mrs. Doytt who prefers French novels. Finally, as late as *The Golden Bowl*, the American Fanny Assingham talks about her compatriots’ “artless breasts” (N 6: 509), and Adam Verver along with other American citizens are described as being “plain” (556).

When composing this new American literature, then, James also looked to the ancient Augustans. The values he hoped to instill were the optimistic wariness of the new golden age of Augustus that can be derived from Horace’s *Odes* through “Daisy Miller,” the sense of duty to one’s family and country that can be found in Virgil’s *Aeneid* through *The Ambassadors*, and the virtues of fidelity and frugality promoted throughout Livy’s and Tacitus’s histories through *The Golden Bowl*. In each of his works, these messages are delivered through such literary devices as structure, style, setting, plot, theme and characterization, all of which correspond to the ancient model(s) he is imitating.

It was only in the last years of his life that he felt he had achieved his goal of helping to raise American literature to European standards. Despite becoming a British subject in 1915, he never forgot his American origins and his formative “time in England and France and Italy” (CTW 1: 342) as he expressed it in his essay “The Long Wards” (1916): “That is my moral, for I believe in Culture [sic] – speaking strictly now of the honest and of our own congruous [Anglo-American] kind” (350).

*The (Classical) Education of Henry James*

Henry James’s knowledge of the ancient classics is the culmination of a life-

long love for reading that began in his early years, his father Henry James Sr. once writing of him as being “a devourer of libraries” (Kaplan 42, 571 n.25). His family was quite well read in ancient and modern literature; his grandfather, William James, for instance, first came to the United States from Ireland with “a Latin grammar” (Edel *Henry James* 1: 20). Highly esteemed friend of the family, Ralph Waldo Emerson, used to call Henry James Sr. a “catechetical and legendary Jove” (*CLHJ* 1855-72 1: xxv). Henry James Jr.’s mother even referred to herself sometimes in Latin as “Mater” (Edel *Henry James* 1: 44). What is more, the James house at 58 West 14<sup>th</sup> Street in New York was wallpapered with pictures of sphinxes (88) and contained a bust of a Bacchante (89).

Henry James Jr. began his education under a string of tutors and governesses on both sides of the Atlantic. In London his father posted the following advertisement in the third column of the third page of the 14 November 1855 issue of *The Times*:

To teachers.—The advertiser wishes to ENGAGE A TUTOR, by the month, for three or four hours a day, who is competent to give his boys instruction in Latin, and the ordinary branches of an English education. None but well qualified persons need apply. Address H. J., 3, Berkeley-square, between 5 and 7 in the evening.

The next year in Paris the children were assigned a new tutor, Monsieur Lerambert “—who was surely good too, in his different way” (*Au* 183). It cannot be ascertained whether Latin continued to be taught, but it does seem likely since in 1858 back in America his friend Perry, who would eventually become a classicist,<sup>14</sup> confirms in a memorandum that “[James] and I read together at Mr. [Reverend W. C.] Leverett’s school a fair amount of Latin literature. Like Shakespeare he had less

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<sup>14</sup> James once playfully referred to him as “ancient Tom” (*CLHJ* 1872-7 1: 173) when he was “in this wondrous old Rome which that ripe culture which has made you [Perry] an editor [of *North American Review* (174-5)] ^ would [^] fit you so well to enjoy.” Brooks labels Perry “[a] first-rate classical scholar” (231) whose “most important work was [the three-volume work] *A History of Greek Literature*, 1890” (232). Perry also wrote *From Opitz to Lessing: A Study of Pseudo-classicism in Literature* five years earlier.

Greek” (Lubbock 1: 8). The following year, the family moved to France again, and this time to Boulogne, where M. Ansiot

impressed me as with an absolute ancients of type, of tone, of responsible taste, above all; this last I mean in literature, since it was literature we sociably explored, to my at once charmed and shamed apprehension of the several firm traditions, the pure properties, the discussabilities, in the oddest way both so many and so few, of that field as they prevailed to his pious view. [...] He rested with a weight I scarce even felt – such easy terms he made, without scruple, for both of us – on the cheerful innocence of my barbarianism; and though our mornings were short and subject, I think, to quite drowsy lapses and other honest aridities, we did scumble together, I make out, by the aid of the collected extracts from the truly and academically great which formed his sole resource and which he had, in a small portable and pocketed library rather greasily preserved, some patch of picture of a saving as distinguished from a losing classicism. (*Au* 235)

On 18 November 1859, James wrote from Geneva to Perry in New York:

How is the Redwood [Library] getting along; I miss it very much for there is no place of the kind here, except *a venerable old institution, with none but the oldest of books (not that I object to that, for the older the better I think)* and an old librarian who looks as if he derived his being from all that was most sanctimonious and respectable in them. (*CLHJ* 1855-72 1: 19 [my emphasis])

From as early as the age of 16, then, one can see James’ love for history, perhaps even as far back as antiquity, resulting from the education that he was receiving. Later, in the same letter, he recommends that “[y]ou could go to the Gymnase here, an excellent school, which I would have gone to but for being so backward in Latin,” a possible regret. Instead he studied the language at M. Rochette’s (27-8, 39) and wanted to learn Greek too, adding that the education there was mostly classical (28). As a result, he began to use ancient metaphors a few months later as another letter to Perry demonstrates: “~~Savoy~~ I suppose you have heard  even in your uncivilized parts about the annexation of Savoy to France” (34), equating themselves to barbarians in contrast to the civilized Europeans, a description that he would employ throughout his career as Chapter III will later reveal.

James then studied Virgil and Livy with a M. Verchère, and read Jean Racine’s

*Phèdre*<sup>15</sup> with M. Toeppfer at the Academy of Geneva (*Au* 243), where Frederick Forsyth Winterbourne of “Daisy Miller: A Study” also studies (Edel *Henry James* 1: 152-3), in the spring of 1860 (*CLHJ* 1855-72 1: lxxi). He may also have been exposed to Greek drama there, if not earlier, to which he equates his scientific lectures with “tragedy” and the literary ones with “bright comedy,” “the professor in each case figuring the hero, and the undergraduates, [...], partaking in an odd fashion of the nature at once of troupe and spectators.” These classical metaphors extend to one lecturer who particularly impressed the youth:

H[enri].-F[rédéric]. Amiel, admirable writer, analyst, moralist. His name and the fact of his having been then a mild grave oracle of the shrine [...]; the shrine, not to say the temple itself, shining for me truly, all that season, with a mere confounding blur of light. (*Au* 245)

After that experience, the James family moved to Bonn, where Henry finally received his opportunity to study Greek under “one Doctor Humpert Latin and Greek Professor at the Gymnasium here” who “is a pleasant genial man with very little force of character, and more book-learning, that is knowledge of Greek and Sanscrit [sic] than anything else” (*CLHJ* 1855-72 1: 51). He concludes the missive by describing his situation living “all day as having the sword of Damocles suspended above my head” (52). Although this simile is Greek, the story is found in its most complete form in Cicero’s *Tusculan Disputations* (V.61-2). In yet another letter to Perry, he writes that “[t]hey study naught else than Latin and Greek” (*CLHJ* 1855-72 1: 59) at the Gymnasium whose library “has scarcely any but the Ancient Authors” (60).

Returning to America, he studied “English, Classical [Languages/Civilization], French, German, Spanish, Drawing and Music” at the Berkeley Institute in Newport,<sup>16</sup> where “the whole of Vergil, the whole of Caesar’s commentaries, Cicero’s select

<sup>15</sup> Lamm sees an allusion to another play by Racine, *Andromaque*, in *The Portrait of a Lady* (257).

<sup>16</sup> From the 24 May 1862 edition of the newspaper *Mercury* (note the Roman mythological reference) in Newport, as found in Harlow (8).

orations, plus grammar, prosody, and composition” were prerequisites for admittance into Harvard College (Block 154). Once accepted into the law school, James focused

on Horace, Livy, Cicero, and Latin Composition. This conservative program was remarkably unchanged since the time of the Roman Empire. Quintilian recommends that a young man’s education commence with Homer and Virgil, that he emulate Cicero and Livy, but that erotic elegy be banned, and comedy be introduced carefully. (155)

It was at this point, Edel notes, that James, who spent more of “his time reading Sainte-Beuve and other writers rather than consulting the ponderous law books; and [who] seems to have had an uncomfortable defeat in some student courtroom exercise” (*Stories of the Supernatural* 568), decided on a life of letters than on one of laws (569).

The origins of James’ Latinate literary style with its increasingly complex sentences could, therefore, not be more obvious. William recognized his younger brother’s love for antiquity in a letter from Dresden dated 24 July 1867 (Edel *Henry James* 1: 263), and in a later one he tries to persuade Henry to go to Germany because that is where “really classical and cosmopolitan literature” is written (*CLHJ* 1855-72 2: 14).

James kept in touch with the academic world of classical studies even after completing school. He was on friendly terms with Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1: 161-2, 171, 197, 333, 339), Harvard Professor of French and Spanish from 1836 to 1854, whose poetry contains classical elements such as an accentual version of epic dactylic hexameters in his narrative poem “Evangeline” (1847).<sup>17</sup> He was in contact with Ephraim Whitman Gurney (3: 116, 189; *1876-8* 2: 187, 195, 196, 202, 209), assistant professor of Latin at Harvard (*1855-72* 1: 172; *1872-6* 1: 174, 332), who lived at Shady Hill, Charles Eliot Norton’s house in Cambridge, Massachusetts (345,

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<sup>17</sup> James mentions this poem in his travel essay of 1871 on Quebec City (*CTW* 1: 773).

352). Gurney was editor of the *North American Review* (1855-72 1: 174; 1876-8 2: 226), where many of James's writings were published. He sometimes visited Epes Sargent Dixwell, headmaster of Boston Latin School in 1836 and founder of Private Latin School on Boylston Place (1855-72 1: 189, 191).

During his first trip to Europe as an adult, James went "to hear Ruskin lecture at University College on Greek Myths" (236), and socialized with the art and social critic as well (245, 256-7). He listened to William Morris read out his version of the story of Bellerophon (238, 246), and reviewed some of the Englishman's other adaptations of Greek myths in 1867 and 1868 (*LC* 1: 1177-91). Among the friends of the family, Charles Eliot (translator of Dante's *Divine Comedy*) of the Nortons shared James' passion for the classics (Edel *Henry James* 1: 210). As a result, he also knew Richard Norton, archaeologist and Director of the American School of Classical Studies in Rome from 1899 to 1907.<sup>18</sup> Charles introduced him to Emilia Pattison who was married to Mark Pattison, an Oxford classical scholar (*CLHJ* 1855-72 1: 302, 343). James was on good terms as well with Charles Callahan Perkins, an art critic who lectured on Greek and Italian art and engraving several times in the 1870s at Lowell Institute in Boston (343). He once met a Mr. Parker, an antiquarian, at a party in Rome (1872-6 1: 203, 353). He knew Richard Chenevix Trench, the Archbishop of Dublin, who was also a philologist (210, 226, 358). Dr. Thomas Inman, who published in archaeology and mythology, was his doctor in Liverpool (221, 222, 225, 335). He once breakfasted with John Addington Symonds, author of the pioneering discussion of homosexuality *A Problem in Greek Ethics* (1876-8 1: 64, 67). One of his first acquaintances after moving to London in 1876 was Andrew Lang, an expert on myths who translated Homer's *Odyssey* into prose and edited Books I, III, IV and VII of

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<sup>18</sup> *CN* 75, 339, 372, 374, 383, 385, 394, 411, 418, 430; anonymous obituary "Prof. R. Norton."



Aristotle's *Politics* (1876-8 1: 99, 101, 251). He seems to have known Basil Laneau Gildersleeve, a classicist at John Hopkins University (2: 111, 116). He also met in July 1878 Charles Godfrey Leland, who was interested in philology (167, 168) and would publish *Etruscan Roman Remains in Popular Tradition* in 1892.

He of course travelled across western Europe visiting the classical sites and museums along the way. By 1899, when James met Mrs. Humphry Ward just south of Rome, she noticed "his thorough knowledge of antiquity and the artistic resources of the Roman countryside" (Edel *Henry James* 4: 295) and that he "conveyed his knowledge of things Roman and Italian by indirect hints" (296), as discussed in the previous section.

The impact of this classical background can be measured by James's fiction. In "A Day of Days," for instance, Thomas Ludlow, who is "[b]orn in one of the lower strata of New York society" (CS 1: 107), considers himself "not educated. I know no Greek and very little Latin" (120). Mrs. De Grey of "De Grey: A Romance" discovers that the girl she has just adopted is not very well educated since she cannot read "the word '*obiit*, 1786.'" "You don't know Latin, I take it, my dear" (334). Conversely, Miss Henrietta Congreve of "Osborne's Revenge," presumably rich and from New York, like her creator, is believed to be "wonderfully clever, and [...] she read Latin and Greek" (375).

Robert Charles LeClair believes that "Gabrielle de Bergerac" (1869) demonstrates James's European education best of all his other early works (LeClair 425-6). M. de Bergerac's childhood, the instruction from his aunt Gabrielle consisting of reading Plutarch in French and studying Latin (CS 1: 436-9, 459), and the later literary career of the boy's tutor Pierre Coquelin (494) all seem to correspond to different phases of the author's own youth. Perhaps the most telling of the three

characters is Coquelin who

had half a dozen little copies of the Greek and Latin poets, bound in yellow parchment, which, as he said, with a second shirt and a pair of white stockings, constituted his whole library. He had carried these books to America, and read them in the wilderness, and by the light of camp-fires, and in crowded, steaming barracks in winter-quarters. He had a passion for Virgil. M. Scarron was very soon dismissed to the cupboard, among the dice-boxes and old packs of cards, and I [M. de Bergerac] was confined for the time to Virgil and Ovid and Plutarch, all of which, with the stimulus of Coquelin's own delight, I found very good reading. [...] He wrote a very bad hand, but he made very pretty drawings of the subjects then in vogue, – nymphs and heroes and shepherds and pastoral scenes. (438)

Next, the “*bourgeoise* Egeria” (749), Serafina, “The Madonna of the Future,”<sup>19</sup> complains how Theobald often “talks away, without stopping, on art and nature, and beauty and duty, and fifty fine things that are all so much Latin to me” (757) just as “it was Greek to” Casca in William Shakespeare’s *Julius Caesar* (I.ii.282).<sup>20</sup> In *Watch and Ward* (1871), “[t]he day of childish “lessons” was over, and Nora [Lambert] sought instruction in the perusal of various classical authors, in her own [English] and other [Greek and Latin] tongues, in concert with her friend [Roger Lawrence]” (N 1: 37). The narrator of “Eugene Pickering” (1874) and his wealthy title friend both took Latin classes together (CS 2: 40-1). In “Benvolio” (1875), the Professor “taught [his daughter] the Greek alphabet before she knew her own, and fed her with crumbs from his scholastic revels” (104). In “An International Episode” (1878-9), “[t]here was Lady Jane Grey we have just been hearing about, who went in for Latin and Greek and all the learning of her age” (382). And, in “A London Life” (1888), Laura Wing “wondered what her sister [Selina (Σελήνη, Greek for moon)] supposed Miss Steet taught them – whether she had a cheap theory that they were in Latin and algebra” (CS 3: 449). Morgan Moreen, “The Pupil” (1891), learns Latin (718, 720) and Greek (730) from his tutor Pemberton. Finally, Mrs. Peverel of *Guy Domville* (1893) wants her son

<sup>19</sup> Note the neat Jamesian irony whereby Egeria in Roman religion was a water-nymph to whom pregnant women sacrificed to secure easy delivery.

<sup>20</sup> James quotes again from this play in *The Awkward Age* (N 4: 983).

to learn Latin (*CP* 508-9). All of this classical knowledge, then, observes Diana Wilson, came as a result of “James’s privileged youth, a golden age in which he immersed himself in the works of classical and Renaissance writers and artists” (205).

### *Conclusion*

In the seventeenth century,

Belgians, Swedes, Germans, Spaniards, Portuguese, and Hungarians all scoured ancient Greek and Latin authors to find connections between their forbears and the cultures of Greece and Rome, and commissioned works of art to promote those connections. (Rowland 51)

Although by the first half of the next century the strict doctrines of French Neoclassicism were beginning to wear off in England, Alexander Pope and Jonathan Swift were still imitating Horace and Juvenal, while Joseph Addison wrote his magnum opus *Cato, a Tragedy*. Massimiliano Demata explains this phenomenon as follows:

Italy was also a complex artistic and literary framework, with a rich cultural and historical heritage stretching from the Roman Empire to the Renaissance which would often constitute the yardstick by which the aspiration and achievement of British culture were measured; [...] (“Italy and the Gothic” 3). The late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries looked with even greater favour at an older version of Italy, bypassing its Renaissance glories: ancient Rome provided Britain with the ideal example of civilisation, and the concept of the ‘Augustan Age’ was based on the highest achievement of the Roman Empire as its yardstick, in terms which were both political (the Emperor Augustus) and literary (Virgil and his *Aeneid*). (4)

That the British colonials in North America followed the lead of their motherland well into the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century has already been noted, albeit briefly, at the beginning of this introduction. It is this literary tradition that Henry James inherited and perpetuated, as the ensuing chapters will explore in some detail.

*Chapter I: The Odes of Horace & “Daisy Miller”*

“Daisy Miller: A Study” (1878) resembles the *Odes* (23-13 BC) of Horace in setting, structure, imagery and theme, all of which together culminate in a similarly optimistic yet wary view of the futures of both authors’ countries at the time of their writing. First, however, a look at some of the more obvious uses of Horace in James may help place “Daisy Miller” in its proper context.

*Horatian References in James*

It did not take James long after his schooling to begin using what he had learned. One scholar asserts that this education was so complete that it heavily shaped his style (Block 154-5). In one of his very first publications, for instance, a book review in January 1865 of Harriet (Prescott) Spofford’s novel *Azarian: an Episode*, young James suggests with regard to her long-winded, hyperbolic style that she should take heed

of the old Horatian precept, – in plain English, to scratch out. A true artist should be as sternly just as a Roman father. A moderate exercise of this Roman justice would have reduced “Azarian” to half its actual length. (*LC* 1: 611)

He is here conjuring here lines 445 to 448 from *Ars Poetica*, “The Art of Poetry”:

A good and prudent man will hold back insipid verses,  
find fault with hard ones, with a pen smear a black  
mark across unpleasant lines, cut out excessive  
wordiness, ...<sup>1</sup>

Merely two paragraphs later James adds, “This is nothing but ‘words, words, words, Horatio!’” satirizing Hamlet’s famous

Thrift, thrift, Horatio. The funeral baked meats  
did coldly furnish forth the marriage tables. (I.ii.180-1)

In that play Horatio claims to be

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<sup>1</sup> All translations are mine.

more an antique Roman than a Dane (V.ii.343),

a clue suggesting that James viewed the Shakespearean character as deriving from the Latin poet. From this single, early page of literary criticism then, one can already see how firm a grasp James had not only of Horace but his reception history as well.

Half a decade later, in “Travelling Companions” (1870), *The Art of Poetry* resurfaces. Set in “Northern Italian towns” (CS 1: 506), Mr. Brooke “found in them an immeasurable instruction and charm. ... How [my perception] fed upon the mouldy crumbs of the festal past!” The “instruction and charm” resonate with Horace’s recommended combination of the instructive and the pleasurable from the famous lines 343 and 344 of the poem:

omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci,  
lectorem delectando pariterque monendo.  
[He gets every vote who mixes the useful with the pleasant,  
and who, while he pleases the reader, also teaches him.]

Furthermore, the towns in question are

Verona, Mantua, Padua, how life had revelled and postured in its strength!  
How sentiment and passion had blossomed and flowered! How much of history  
had been performed! What a wealth of mortality had ripened and decayed! I  
have never elsewhere got so deep an impression of the social secrets of  
mankind. (506-7)

In these three cities were born Catullus (“how life had revelled and postured in its strength!”); Virgil (“How sentiment and passion had blossomed and flowered!”), who wrote pastorals; and the historian Livy (“How much of history had been performed!”), respectively, all contemporaries of Horace. Later, as Brooke visits some of their museums, he notices that “[c]ertain pictures are veiled and curtained *virginibus puerisque*” (507), “from virgins and boys,” the fourth line of the first poem in Horace’s third book of *Odes*.

Michèle Mendelssohn (“Aestheticism and Decadence” 99-100) notices the same allusion to the *Ars Poetica* in “The Author of ‘Beltraffio’” (1884). She acutely

points out that Mrs. Ambient's criticism of her husband's writings for lacking usefulness and the potential corrupting effect on their beautiful and aptly named son Dolcino indicate failure to supply the aforementioned *utile dulci*.

In a travel essay, "Abbeys and Castles" (October 1877), James suggests that the reader "[l]et an old gentleman of conservative tastes, who can remember the century's youth, talk to you at a club *temporis acti* – ..." (CTW 1: 196), the "events of times (past)." The Latin phrase is coined in line 173 of *The Art of Poetry* and reiterated by Valerius Flaccus in his *Argonautica* (III.627), a fine – if brief – example of the Horatian tradition. Furthermore, in September of the same year, James's three month honorary membership at the prestigious Athenaeum Club in London expired (CLHJ 1876-8 1: 57, 58, 59, 64, 70, 75, 78, 113, 167, 178, 202), which might explain his quoting familiar snippets of Horace as this one to help to establish himself as an old-fashioned conservative gentleman for the purpose of extending his membership there, a tactic that did not work.

In the introduction to the *Ars Poetica* Horace compares painting to writing (lines 1-31), culminating later in the simile *ut pictura poesis*, "a poem is like a picture" (361). James uses this comparison at least three times throughout his career. The first is when he discusses in a letter to the Deerfield Summer School dated 1889 the process of novel-writing: "You each have an impression coloured by your individual conditions; make that into a picture, a picture framed by your own personal wisdom, your glimpse of the American world" (LC 1: 93). The second occurs throughout his short story "The Real Thing" (1892), according to Grover ("Realism, Representation, and 'The Real Thing'"). Lastly, in the preface to the New York Edition of *The Ambassadors* (1909), he calls the writer "the painter of life" (N 6: 5).

In another travelogue, "Philadelphia" from *The American Scene* (1906; CTW 1:

596), James describes “American life [as] having been organized, *ab ovo*,” literally “from the egg.” It is a quotation from verse 147 of *The Art of Poetry* and in this context probably means “from scratch”.<sup>2</sup>

In yet another travel essay, the last instalment of “The Saint’s Afternoon and Others” (1909), his description of the Gulf of Naples is Horatian:

Our early start, our roundabout descent from Posilippo by *shining Baiae* for avoidance of the city, had been an hour of enchantment beyond any notation I can here recover; all luster and azure, yet all composition and *classicism*. (2: 617 [my emphases])

Here James is thinking either of *Ode* III.4.24 in which Horace “prefers clear Baiae,” or of *Epistle* I.1.83 where

no bay in the world outshines pleasant Baiae.

That James read the *Epistles* is a fairly safe assumption to make. In “A Light Man” (1869), for example, there are three quotations from Horace, two of which are epistolary. One comes from the second book of *Satires* (7.86) when the diarist Maximus Austin describes honesty in human beings as never being “*totus, teres, atque rotundus*” (CS 1: 408), “whole, smoothed, and rounded.” Another is from the very beginning of *Epistle* I.6, where Theodore Lisle is said to be skilled in “the art of *nil admirari*” (411), “to be amazed at nothing.” The third reference, as W. R. Martin and Warren U. Ober have noticed, opens Austin’s diary: “I have changed my sky without changing my mind” (399) a slight rewording of *Epistle* I.11.27: “their sky, not their soul, they change” (“Refurbishing James’s ‘A Light Man’” 308). The same quotation appears in *Roderick Hudson* (1875) a few years later: “Roderick had changed his sky, but he had not

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<sup>2</sup> Amorós (50-51, 58) and Labarthe-Postel (59-60, 72) also have good grounds for asserting that James’s creative process was influenced by Horace’s *Ars Poetica*. Even his older brother William, who received a similar education, seems to refer to line 139 of the poem

Mountains will give labour, a ridiculous mouse will be born  
when writing to a friend in 1890 about being “terribly in arrears with an interminable mouse-parturition of a book on psychology which must proceed to press in 6 weeks” (W. James *The Correspondence of William James* 7: 8). He also quotes *Odes* III.1.40 in English to another friend (9: 510 [this publication misprints it as coming from Book II]).

changed his mind” (*N* 1: 473), as noted by Rodney Stenning Edgecombe. The last time this verse is used is in a letter to William Dean Howells dated 18 December 1876. In it James complains about having moved “from glittering, charming, civilized Paris” to “the present fog-blanket” that is London in such Horatian terms: “You see I have changed my sky: as far as ~~skies~~ sky goes, for the worse” (*CLHJ* 1876-8 1: 10). Three times in seven years, then, from 1869 to 1876 in three different genres (a short story, novel and letter), James had this very same line from Horace’s epistle on his mind perhaps because it neatly corresponded with all the transatlantic travelling he was experiencing at the time.

In January 1872 the play *A Change of Heart* was published, which includes an interesting quotation. In the ninth scene, Margaret meets Martha “in whom Mr. [Robert] Staveley took such an interest and about whom he had his quarrel with Mr. [Charles] Pepperel! *Hinc illae lachrymae*; do you know Latin?” (*CP* 111) she says to her. The Latin quotation, “hence the reason for these tears,” can come from three sources: line 126 of *Andria* by Terence, LXI.12 of Cicero’s *Pro Caelio* or Horace’s *Epistle* I.19.41, with a possible but unlikely fourth being Pomponius Porphyrio, an early third century commentator on Horace. The Terentian option is attractive for two main reasons: it is the original source and dramatic, like *A Change of Heart*, which James could very well have consulted for inspiration. The quotation became proverbial, however, which is how it is presented in Cicero and Horace. The Ciceronian source is equally appealing because the Roman statesman is just as popular an author as the playwright (if not more so) and, like Staveley and Pepperel, the Ciceronian line is used to express the understanding of a disagreement between the historical figures of Caelius and Clodia. Throughout the Jamesian canon, though, Terence and Cicero do not feature nearly as often as Horace does.



Furthermore, this play was published before and after two letters to his friend Charles Eliot Norton in which James quotes Horace again. On 9 August 1871, he labelled all the paintings in Florence that resembled those of Andrea del Sarto as “hoc genus omne” (*CLHJ* 1855-72 2: 412), “all this kind,” a quotation from *Satire* I.2.2, where Horace is grouping members of the lower end of Roman society together. The other letter, dated 5 February the following year, reads how James went to “a little party last night at Mrs Dorr’s ( arida nutrix leonum! as someone called her)” (439); the word order for the Latin correctly being *leonum / arida nutrix* (*Odes* I.22.15-6), “dry nurse of lions.” Therefore, the fact that *hinc illae lachrymae* appears closely sandwiched chronologically between two missives containing Horatianisms suggests that James is quoting from the poet and not the playwright or politician.

As already seen on two occasions above, in addition to the *Ars Poetica* and the *Epistles*, James also seems to have read both of Horace’s books of *Satires*. One more quotation from them can be found in the article “Manners of American Women” (1907), where he criticizes the loss of scenic America with “the vast daubed signboards by which, on the highways of travel, the land is dishonored, grew to resemble more than ever the *disiecta membra* of murdered Taste” (*HJC* 96). In the fourth poem of his first book of *Satires*, Horace argues that despite the *disiecta membra poetae*, “scattered limbs of the poet” (line 62), or no matter how rearranged the words from a certain piece of poetry may be, a reader can still recognize the original work.

James’s knowledge of all the Horatian works just mentioned, as well as the *Epodes*, culminates in the tale “A Passionate Pilgrim” (1871), set “in ancient Britain” (*CS* 1: 543) where “[y]ou feel England; you feel Italy” (554) and “hold at once so rare an Italy and so brave an England” (555). The protagonist Clement Searle and the narrator take a walk one day in the countryside, which resembles very much many of

Horace's descriptions of Tibur. "[T]he sloping pastures of the Malvern Hills" (562) and "long-drawn slopes of fields" (563) remind one of Horace's "sloping Tibur" (*Odes* III.4.23).<sup>3</sup> What is more, "the copse-checkered slopes of rolling Hereford, white with the blossom of apples" recalls the lines

Apples from Tibur yield to the Picenian in flavor;  
but in look are finer, ... (*Sat.* II.4.70-1)

Also,

the tremendous sky ... possesses the splendor of combined and animated clouds ... piled and dissolved. Compacted and shifted, blotting the azure with sullen rain spots, stretching, breeze-fretted, into dappled fields of gray, bursting into a storm of light or melting into a drizzle of silver (*CS* 1: 563)

is James's British elaboration on "Tiburnus's grove and the orchards watered by running brooks" (*Odes* I.7.13-4), "always wet Tibur" (III.29.6), "damp Tibur" (IV.2.30-1) and "waters that flow by fertile Tibur" (3.10-1). The English land has "an old-time quietude and privacy" (*CS* 1: 563) which rivals that of "silent Tibur" (*Epist.* I.7.45).

Then,

[w]e struck through a narrow lane, a green lane, dim with its height of hedges; it led us to a *superb old farmhouse*, now jostled by the multiplied lanes and roads which have curtailed its *ancient* appanage. It stands in stubborn picturesqueness, at the receipt of sad-eyed contemplation and the sufferance of "sketches." I doubt whether out of Nuremberg – or *Pompeii*! – you may find so forcible an image of *the domiciliary genius of the past*. (*CS* 1: 563 [my emphases])<sup>4</sup>

Horace owned a house in Tibur (Hallam 125-6) where he wanted to spend his old age (*Odes* II.6.5-9), much like the American Clement would like to do at Lockley Park, an estate to which he has claim and that is "as free and wild and untended as the villa of an

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<sup>3</sup> The classicism is particularly interesting here as the Malvern Hills have a more immediate English literary resonance being the site of William Langland's vision of "A faire felde ful of folke" (line 17) between

a toure on a toft, trielich y-maked,  
A depe dale binethe, ... (lines 14-5)

in *Piers Plowman*'s Prologue, which also resembles Horace's sloping Tibur.

<sup>4</sup> Four years later, according to his *English Hours*, much of Lichfield and Warwick made James think of Italy and the Mediterranean (*CTW* 1: 67-81), especially that of antiquity (67-8, 79), where "Haddon Hall reminded me perversely of some of the larger houses at Pompeii" (75). Winchelsea had a similar effect (245).

Italian *prince*” (CS 1: 565 [my emphasis]). Gaius Maecenas and the *princeps* Augustus, Horace’s patrons, also had villas at Tibur, as did the later emperor Hadrian with his famous *Villa Adriana*. Britain and its inhabitants are also found in Horace’s verses where the island is inhabited by “Britons at the edge of the world” (*Odes* I.35.29-30), and “Ocean roars at the distant Britons” (IV.14.47-8), who are “untouched” (*Epod.* VII.7), and whose eventual subjugation and inclusion into the empire will help Augustus become deified (*Odes* III.5.2-4). The country’s Roman past remains strong in Clement who declares, “You [English] have some history among you all, you have some poetry” (CS 1: 574), to his British relative Richard Searle, who in turn enjoys playing “the part of cicerone” in his “ancient house” (584). This cultured experience leads Clement to feel that “[n]o other spot in Europe, I imagine, extorts from our *barbarous* [American] hearts so passionate an admiration” (587 [my emphasis]). These classical references are all but confirmed in Oxford, finally, when he cries out, “Now for Theocritus and Horace, for lawn and sky!” (600) perhaps yet another allusion to the aforementioned *Epistle* I.11.27. The academic atmosphere seems to contribute to his understanding of what he has been internalizing during this trip. The transatlantic cultural gap is almost more than Clement can stand, and he sums it up in Roman terms:

If you pay the pious debt to the last farthing of interest, you may go through life with her [Oxford’s] blessing; but if you let it stand unhonored, you are a worse *barbarian* than we [Americans]! (601 [my emphasis])

It is to the *Odes*, however, Horace’s masterpieces, that James constantly returns, as many of the examples above have already shown. When painter Stephen Baxter of “The Story of a Masterpiece” (1868) completes his portrait of Marian Everett, the fiancée of his commissioner John Lennox, he declares “*Exegi monumentum*” (CS 1: 230), “I have finished a monument,” the very first words of *Ode* III.30. About this passage, Jamesian scholar A. R. Tintner claims “that is all we ever get from that poet”

(*The Pop World of Henry James* 141), but as one can see, that is simply not the case. In fact, in “The Madonna of the Future” (1873), James finishes that very line when Serafina’s “companion” states that his “statuettes are as durable as bronze – *aere perennius*” (CS 1: 760). Furthermore, in a letter written to his brother William in 1893, he exclaims, “Eheu, fugaces annos” (W. James *Correspondence* 2: 278), quoting the last word slightly incorrectly:

Eheu fugaces, Postume, Postume,  
Labuntur anni, ...  
[Alas, Postumus, Postumus, the fleeting  
years pass, ...] (*Odes* II. 14.1-2)

On 23 January 1865, James wrote Katherine Rogers, a distant cousin (*CLHJ* 1855-72 1: 95, 347, 359), “Isn’t the future all before us? Let us revel in the blissful present which glides insidiously away even while I trace these crooked characters” (117). This philosophy is very reminiscent of the three last lines of perhaps Horace’s most celebrated piece of writing, *Ode* I.11:

... sapias, vina liques et spatio brevi  
spem longam reseces. dum loquimur, fugerit invida  
aetas. carpe diem, quam minimum credula postero. (lines 6-8)  
[Be smart, strain the wine, and shorten your long hopes into a brief space.  
Even as we speak, jealous time will have fled.  
Seize the day, putting as little trust in tomorrow as possible.]

In it lies the proverbial *carpe diem*, although James does not quote it, responding to the spirit of the poem as a whole.

This approach is more fully developed three years later in “A Most Extraordinary Case” (1868). When Colonel Ferdinand Mason is recovering from injuries sustained in the American Civil War, he is called upon by a certain Dr. Horace Knight. Both he and the physician are in love with the same woman, Caroline Hofmann, who lives with Mason and his aunt. At one point, “[f]or three weeks he [Mason] was a very sick man” (CS 1: 290), during which time the doctor seizes for himself the

opportunity to propose to Miss Hofmann (295). Dr. Horace Knight's full name, furthermore, is extremely loaded. While his first name is obvious enough, the family one also refers to the poet's, and therefore by extension the character's, high status in society, of which Caroline does not disapprove. David Armstrong has already convincingly argued that Horace was a member of the equestrian order (267-85). With the Latin poet's advice to *carpe diem*, his social status and Mason's dying consent, Dr. Horace Knight does not waste this chance to marry Hofmann (302-3). Much like Maecenas, who also fought in civil war (*Elegiae in Maecenatem* I.11-2, 39-43) and as patron of the poet gave him his Sabine estate (*Epod.* I.25-32; *Sat.* II.6), the quasi-homonymous Mason leaves Knight a large portion of his patrimony (CS 1: 301).

Of course, the proverb appears too. Horace is also the name of one of the characters in James's second play *Still Waters* (1871) who declares, "This last hour she seizes!" (CP 91) when his love interest, Emma, takes the opportunity given to her to be with her own preferred partner, Felix, that evening, a clear reference to *carpe diem*. "Felix," furthermore, is Latin for "happy" or "lucky," while the great Jamesian Leon Edel himself claims that this short play is about missed opportunity (87).

The last use of *carpe diem* occurs in the sixth chapter of "The Papers" (1903). Since the noted public figure Sir A. B. C. Beadel-Muffet K.C.B., M.P. has disappeared and the playwright Mortimer Marshall is unproduced, the aspiring journalist Howard Bight decides to take advantage of all their situations. In one fell swoop he encourages Marshall "[t]o seize the psychological hour" (CS 5: 606) by claiming to the press (i.e., Bight) to "know" presumably about Beadel-Muffet's whereabouts.

James also employed other proverbs from Horace, such as "the golden mean,"<sup>5</sup> *in medias res*,<sup>6</sup> *deus ex machina* ("god from the machine")<sup>7</sup> and "good Homer falls

<sup>5</sup> *Odes* II.10.5 in CS 4: 508; N 6: 827; CTW 1: 393.

<sup>6</sup> *Ars P.* 148; "in the midst" (CLHJ 1872-6 3: 191; CTW 1: 164).

asleep,”<sup>8</sup> but they have been passed over here since they were really part of general knowledge; the less well-known Horatian echoes are favoured because they better demonstrate James’s knowledge of the poet. *Carpe diem* is a notable exception, however, for the novelist has employed a whole section from *Ode* I.11 and not just the phrase in the letter to his relative above, while also placing the proverb within the larger context of Horace’s world in “A Most Extraordinary Case,” feats that only one well versed in the poet could accomplish.

In 1875 James reviewed Augustus J. C. Hare’s travelogue *Days near Rome*, stating,

He is abundant (as is quite right) in his quotations from the Latin poets – from Horace, Virgil, Ovid, and Juvenal. The smallest pretext for quoting from Horace – the most quotable of the ancients – should always be cultivated. (LC 1: 1049)

As can be seen throughout his entire career, in both his fiction (plays, tales and novels) and non-fiction (letters, travelogues and criticism), James cultivated this Horatian habit himself, a not uncommon feature in 19<sup>th</sup> century literature.<sup>9</sup>

#### *Classical References in “Daisy Miller”*

Despite not containing any overt allusions to Horace (though there are a few Ovidian references), “Daisy Miller” is still a very classicised text. Once placed in its ancient Roman context, the tale’s setting, theme, structure and imagery begin to demonstrate qualities that strongly resemble the Latin poet’s *Odes*.

The novella’s overall setting comes from James’s European trips taken in 1869 (CLHJ 1855-72 2: 3-241) and 1872-3 (1872-6 1). A letter sent to his brother William from Rome dated 9 April 1873 confirms this fact

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<sup>7</sup> For its Greek origins, see Brink 2: 251-2. The more popular Latin version comes from *Ars P.* 191-2: *nec deus intersit, nisi dignus vindice nodus / inciderit* (“let no god interfere, unless there be a knot worthy of such an unraveler”). James employs the latter in CTW 1: 311; see also N 1: 467.

<sup>8</sup> *Ars P.* 359 in CTW 1: 280; 2: 382; CS 3: 84; 5: 368-9 where a Scott *Homer* is sleeping.

<sup>9</sup> N. Vance *Victorians* 175-93. See especially 298 n.1 for statistics representing the high frequency of quotations from Horace found in the works of Trollope and Thackeray.

But in the long run I have gained for it has all after all [sic] been “quite an experience” & I have gathered more impressions I am sure than I suppose – impressions I shall find a value in when I come to use them. (255-6)

He seems also to have used some of the imagery from his past travel essays such as “Swiss Notes” (1872; *CTW* 2: 626-32), “Roman Rides” (August 1873; 433-4) and “From a Roman Note-Book” (November 1873; 471-2), all of which include references to the ancient periods of Switzerland and, of course, Italy. Vevey, to begin with, used to be an ancient Roman military stop (Deakin 4). The hotel there, where the first half of the story takes place, Trois Couronnes, is where his friends the Nortons stayed in July 1869 (*CLHJ* 1855-72 2: 25, 28, 29-30, 40, 43, 50, 102) and where he himself stayed on 5 July 1872 with his sister and aunt (1872-6 1: 39, 47-48). The narrator of “Daisy Miller” describes it as being “classical” (*CS* 2: 238) in the opening paragraph, and the Tuscan columns inside can still attest to that description (Fig. 2).



Fig. 2

Vevey and the Trois Couronnes are “seated upon the edge of a remarkably blue

lake – a lake that it behoves every tourist to visit.” “The starlit lake” (254) with its “beauties” (263) is, of course, Lake Geneva. Coupled with the “sights and sounds which evoke a vision, an *echo*, of Newport and Saratoga [springs]” (my emphasis) the setting begins to resonate with lines from the third book of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* (lines 339-510) recounting the myth of Echo and Narcissus, where

the spring was clean, the water a shiny silver (407)

and which Narcissus, like the tourists in the novella, is “attracted to the appearance of the place and the spring” (414). Furthermore,

There is a flitting hither and thither of “stylish” young girls, a rustling of muslin flounces, a rattle of dance-music in the morning hours, a sound of high-pitched voices at all times (CS 2: 238),

reminding one of Domenichino’s (neo)classical, pastoral painting *Diana and Her Nymphs at Play* (1616-7). In the dramatic version of the novella written four years later, *Daisy Miller* (1882),<sup>10</sup> Mrs. Costello complains that “[s]he’s [Daisy is] always wandering about the garden” (CP 126). It should also be noted that Vevey held the *Fête des Vignerons* every year, an ancient Roman feast of wine in honour of Bacchus (Deakin 4).

Like the *resonabilis* (Ov. *Met.* III.358, “resounding”) and *garrula* (360, “babbling”) nymph Echo who even “cunningly held in long conversation” (364) Juno, the queen of the gods, Annie P. (CS 2: 244) “Daisy” Miller constantly “chatter[s]” (245, 261, 267, 280, 283, 292), “talk[s]” (261, 263, 280), “teas[es]” (264), “convers[es]” (266), “flirt[s]” (281), and “tell[s]” her modern Roman companion Giovanelli what to do (284) admitting herself that she “was always fond of conversation” (271). Mrs. Costello even labels her a “chatterbox” in the play (CP 135), while in the novella Frederick Winterbourne believes that one of her conversations “was the most charming

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<sup>10</sup> This dissertation distinguishes between “Daisy Miller” the novella and *Daisy Miller* the play, unless quoting from the work of other scholars in which case it is always the more popular former.



*garrulity* he had ever heard” (CS 2: 261 [my emphasis]). His Aunt Costello claims that “[s]he goes on from day to day, from hour to hour, as they did in the Golden Age” (285) referring to the first period of classical mythology as first recorded by Hesiod in his *Works & Days* (lines 109-29), Virgil in both his *Eclogues* (IV) and *Aeneid* (VI.791-807, VIII.314-36), Horace in an *Epode* (XVI.64) and *Ode* (IV.2.39-40) as well as Ovid in his *Metamorphoses* (I.89-112). The year before “Daisy Miller” was published, James wrote to his friend Elizabeth Boott, who was in Rome, where he longed to be:

never are the quiet & lonely – the *golden*-aired – places of Rome, so enchanting as now. Go to the quietest & *goldenest* & imprint a kiss, from me, upon some sunny slab of travertine! (CLHJ 1876-8 1: 60 [my emphases])

This allusion to nymphs and divine entertainment is not restricted to Daisy. On their first date, Winterbourne asks her on the boat ride to the Château de Chillon, “Should you like me to dance a hornpipe on the deck?” (CS 2: 262), the traditional British dance of sailors. Simultaneously, however, the rhetorical question also doubles as a reference to Pan, the Greek god of nature and companion of nymphs, who often moves to the tune of his own trademark flute as Ovid recounts in a later story in his epic (*Met.* XI.146-71). In Rome she finds her Pan in Giovanelli who has

got the most lovely voice and he knows the most charming set of songs. I made him go over them this evening, on purpose; we had the greatest time at the hotel (CS 2: 280)

as the narrator agrees: “He sang, very prettily, half-a-dozen songs” and

Daisy sat at a distance from the piano, and though she had publicly, as it were, professed a high admiration for his singing, talked, not inaudibly, while it was going on.<sup>11</sup>

She, naturally, wants to dance to the music like her mythological counterparts, while Winterbourne fails to take this opportunity to assume the role of the deity of the wild:

“I am not sorry we can’t dance,” Winterbourne answered; “I don’t dance.”  
“Of course you don’t dance; you’re too stiff,” said Miss Daisy.

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<sup>11</sup> Tintner sees the Italian as another classical mythological figure, namely Cupid (“*Daisy Miller* and Chaucer’s ‘Daisy’ Poem” 17) and/or his Greek equivalent Eros (21).

The final connection between the Ovidian myth of Echo and Narcissus and James's story occurs at the end of both narratives. As Narcissus dies of a broken heart, the mourning nymphs look for his corpse,

but it was not there; instead of his body, they found a flower,  
its yellow center surrounded by white petals. (*Met.* III.509-10)

The narcissus is described not so unlike the daisy, both white flowers with yellow centres. In James's version, the story concludes also with a loved one, Winterbourne, "staring at the raw protuberance among the April daisies" (CS 2: 295) of Daisy Miller's grave. This time, ironically, unlike the mythological mourners, he is the one responsible for the broken heart of the American nymph leading to her figurative death.

When the reader is first introduced to Daisy's younger brother, Randolph C. Miller, he is a "child, who was diminutive for his years, had an aged expression of countenance, a pale complexion, and sharp little features" (239). He has "a voice immature, and yet, somehow, not young" (240), "poked his alpenstock, lance-fashion, into Winterbourne's bench, and tried to crack the lump of sugar with his teeth" and then "attacked a second lump of sugar" (241). When his sister asks him what he is doing while she and Winterbourne are trying to converse, he answers, "I'm going up the Alps" and speaks "in his little hard voice." Winterbourne is later shocked that Daisy's "brother is not interested in ancient monuments," which is confirmed by the boy himself later in Rome:

"I hate it [Rome] worse and worse every day!" cried Randolph.  
"You are like the infant Hannibal," said Winterbourne.  
"No, I ain't!" Randolph declared, at a venture.  
"You are not much like an infant," said his mother. (267)<sup>12</sup>

Mrs. Miller's own admission that her son resembles the more mature Roman enemy reminds one of the eighth line of Horace's sixteenth *Epode*:

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<sup>12</sup> In the dramatic version, it is Charles Reverdy, who is not in the novella, who claims, "You [Randolph] remind me of the infant Hannibal" (CP 156).

parentibusque abominatus Hannibal  
[Hannibal abominated by parents].

Although Horace mentions Hannibal a few more times in his *Odes*,<sup>13</sup> most of the information about him comes from another Augustan author, the historian Livy, and specifically the third decade of his *Ab Urbe Condita*, “From the Founding of the City.”

Winterbourne assumes some Hannibalic traits too. Like the ancient invader from another continent who campaigned there for 16 years before returning to Carthage, he too wreaks havoc in Italy (killing Daisy in his case), having “lived too long in foreign parts” (CS 2: 295), and returns home in the end. Military terms are used, furthermore, when he decides to “advance farther, rather than retreat” (242) when meeting Daisy. This language is amplified in the play, for

when Aunt Louisa [Mrs. Costello] gives an order, it’s a military command. She has ordered me up from Geneva, and I [Winterbourne]’ve marched at the word; but I’ll rest a little before reporting at headquarters. (CP 127-8)

Returning to the tale, he “pursue[s]” her by asking, “Are you – a – going over the Simplon?” (CS 2: 242), a pass through the Alps that Hannibal may have taken during his legendary crossing (Livy XXI.29-38). James was quite familiar with this route, since he himself took it in 1869 (CLHJ 1855-72 2: 82, 113) and 1872-3 (1872-6 1: 74, 84, 89, 308, 311-12, 315; 2: 9, 28). Even the narrator of “Travelling Companions” points the Simplon out (CS 1: 502), while the one of “At Isella” (615-21) as well as that of “Louisa Pallant” along with his nephew Archie (CS 3: 210) and Benjamin Babcock and Christopher Newman of *The American* (N 1: 579) cross it. Later in the 1870s, a tunnel was built through Mt. Cenis (N. Vance *Victorians* 21, 273 n.36), another possible candidate for Hannibal’s crossing. In a letter dated 9 December 1872 to his father, James also intended to “go probably on the 15<sup>th</sup> (a week hence) to Rome via Mt. Cenis” (CLHJ 1872-6 1: 151; 159), the same route that his friend Lydia Ward von Hoffman (2:

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<sup>13</sup> *Odes* II.12.2; III.6.36; IV.4.49, 8.16.

54), his brother William (58), the friends of the family the Lombards (181) and Elizabeth Boott took (3: 33). Not specifying any route in particular, “The Solution” also refers to Hannibal crossing the Alps (CS 3: 671).

This feat immortalized by Livy was painted by Joseph Mallord William Turner in 1812, entitled *Snow Storm: Hannibal and His Army Crossing the Alps* (Fig. 3). The



Fig. 3

painting is usually interpreted as a reference to Napoleon Bonaparte’s crossing of the Great St. Bernard Pass in May of 1800. Alert to the visual arts, as already seen in the Introduction, as well as a great admirer of Napoleon (he described himself as such before he died [CN 581-4; Edel “The Deathbed Notes of Henry James”]), James had his characters in “Daisy Miller” reenact the same historical deed. For, as the dark and foreboding picture demonstrates (and as occurred to many of both Hannibal’s and Napoleon’s men), such an endeavor displays man’s vulnerability to the elements, a foreshadowing of Daisy’s fatal attack of Roman fever (CS 2: 293-5).

Like the narrative history of the Second Punic War (218-201 BC), inaction in Switzerland gradually leads to action in Italy. In James’s stories as in his life, the literal

passage from the lofty mountain range to the hotter climate of Italy<sup>14</sup> represents the figurative stages of maturity – from youth, naivety and innocence to experience, reality and corruption (Deakin 13). Jamesian characters are often relatively passive and safe in the northern country, but face tragic events in the southern one. A good example comes from the eleventh chapter of *Roderick Hudson*, when Rowland wants to go “over the Alps” (N 1: 454), to which Roderick exclaims, “Over the Alps! You’re going to leave me?” i.e., in Italy. Also, in the last chapter of “The Lesson of the Master” (1888) writer Paul Overt one summer, like Winterbourne,

returned to a quiet corner that he knew well, on the edge of the Lake of Geneva within sight of the towers of Chillon: a region and a view for which he had an affection springing from old associations, capable of mysterious little revivals and refreshments. Here he lingered late, till the snow was on the nearer hills, almost down to the limit to which he could climb when his stint was done, on the shortening afternoons. The autumn was fine, ... (CS 3: 595)

Hannibal too, it should be noted, had begun his ascent in the fall (Livy XXI.35.6). After crossing the mountain range and spending a year in Italy (CS 3: 597), Overt learns that he lost his love, Marian Fancourt, to the hand of his mentor, Henry St. George, in marriage, almost as Winterbourne did with Daisy to Giovanelli. This motif reappears later in the second chapter of “The Chaperon” (1891) where Captain (note the military title) Bertram Jay

had just *popped over the Alps*. He inquired if *Rose* [as opposed to Daisy] had recent news of the old lady in Hill Street, and it was the only *tortuous* thing she had ever heard him say. (839 [my emphases])

Perhaps Maggie Verver of *The Golden Bowl* (1904) puts it best when suggesting a trip to her Roman husband:

I’ll go abroad with you if you but say the word; to Switzerland, the Tyrol, the Italian Alps, to whichever of your old high places you would like most to see again – those beautiful ones that used to do you good after Rome and that you so often told me about. (N 6: 949)

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<sup>14</sup> In his “American Journals,” James even uses Latin to describe the peninsula’s climate: “into that cool pure Alpine air, out of the stifling *calidarium* of Italy” (CN 222-3).

Thus, when Jamesian characters cross the Alps from northern Europe the harsh realities of life greet them in Italy, much like Livy's account of the Hannibalic War.

After Randolph, the next character to appear in "Daisy Miller" is the sophisticated assistant to the Millers, Eugenio. Although his name is Italian, its origin is Greek, εὐγένιος (eugenios), meaning "well (εὖ) born (γενιος)." That Eugenio, an Italian Swiss,<sup>15</sup> is serving Americans reflects the changing times. By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century European countries were beginning to lose some international clout to the United States. For an urbane European to act as courier to "very common" (CS 2: 250) and "hopelessly vulgar" (265) Americans, as Mrs. Costello labels the Millers, harkens back to ancient times when the less refined Romans had cultured Greek slaves as pedagogues, hence Eugenio's appellation.<sup>16</sup> The relationship between Eugenio and the Millers, therefore, contains two implications. The first is that America was Europe's cultural understudy, not unlike the way Horace himself described his Rome:

Captive Greece captured her fierce conqueror and introduced the arts  
to rustic Latium. (*Epist.* II.1.156-7)

Second, the relationship represents an instance of *translatio imperii et studii*, the notion of a westward "transfer of power and knowledge" from one dominant civilization to the next, beginning from as far back as Babylon and moving through a succession of empires such as Rome (Le Goff 36, 171-2). Many (including James) by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century were increasingly viewing America as the eventual heir to British imperialism and culture. This trope becomes more prominent in the next chapter on *The Ambassadors* and Virgil's *Aeneid*.

After Eugenio, the reader meets three other characters who also bear classical connotations. One is Daisy's mother, Mrs. Miller, who

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<sup>15</sup> According to the play (CP 122), and not an Italian as Rowe believes ("Nationalism and imperialism" 247).

<sup>16</sup> The narrator of "The Pupil," incidentally, makes this classical allusion to tutorship as well (CS 3: 721).

was a very different type of maternity from that of the vigilant *matrons* who massed themselves in the forefront of the social intercourse in the dark old city at the other end of the lake. (CS 2: 258 [my emphasis])

This “preference for Latinate terms, a preference that sacrifices nominative precision for a more graphic composite,” as Molten Deakin (18-9) comments on the use of the word “matron,” is used in comic juxtaposition to the next two women from the novella.

The first is Winterbourne’s aunt, Mrs. Costello,<sup>17</sup> who

had a long pale face, a high nose, and a great deal of very striking white hair, which she wore in large puffs and *rouleaux* over the top of her head. (CS 2: 250)

In the play, furthermore, “her hair is very high” (CP 127) and it is “done like an *old* picture” (138 [my emphasis]). This description perfectly represents the faces and hairstyles of ancient Roman ladies from the end of the first century AD to the beginning of the second (Fig. 4).

The other is Mrs. Walker, Winterbourne’s friend, who appears only in the second, Roman half of the novella and is described in imperial terms. When Daisy is walking in the streets with Giovanelli, for instance, Winterbourne overtakes them “and, offering the young girl his hand, told her that Mrs. Walker had made an *imperious* claim upon his society” (276 [my emphasis]). Then, when they fail to persuade Daisy to return home with them, Mrs. Walker “drove *majestically* away” (278 [my emphasis]).

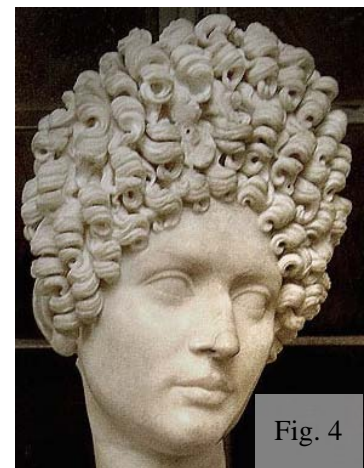


Fig. 4

This type of vocabulary is used by Daisy as well when, earlier, Winterbourne states that he will accompany both her and her Italian companion on their walk, to which Daisy replies:

“I don’t like the way you say that,” said Daisy. “It’s too *imperious*.”  
“I beg your pardon if I say it wrong. The main point is to give you an

<sup>17</sup> This name, incidentally, is Irish and not Italian as Rowe claims (“Nationalism and imperialism” 247).

idea of my meaning.”

The young girl looked at him more gravely, but with eyes that were prettier than ever. “I have never allowed a gentleman to *dictate* to me, or to interfere with anything I do.” (272 [my emphases])

This “imperial” language does not appear in the first, Swiss half of the story. That it does in the second, Roman one may reflect the American progression toward empire, a parallel between both (ancient and modern) countries that gradually manifests itself in this text. Daisy’s use of these terms is negative, resisting the idea of imperiousness as tyrannical in the manner of those like Tacitus, nostalgic for republican polity and probity. What is even more poignant is that it was republican, rather than imperial, Rome that appealed to the early United States. There is, then, the insinuation here that as America grows in power it also degenerates, a modern instance of the myth of Rome exemplified by the decadent contrast between Livy’s earlier, virtuous republic and Tacitus’s later, evil empire, which is further discussed later in the third chapter on *The Golden Bowl*. As for “Daisy Miller,” one might even argue that the novella represents this myth of Rome whereby the first, rosier half is Livian (including the Hannabalic imagery) while the second, darker one Tacitean (when Daisy dies).

Set in the Italian capital, the latter half of the novella takes place naturally around many of its glorious ruins. The first is the Pincian Hill, where some ancient Roman families owned villas. The appropriately named Mrs. Goldie in “The Solution,” incidentally, who has three daughters, one of whom is called Augusta, perhaps after the emperor Augustus’s wife, also “had a house on the Pincian Hill” (CS 3: 665). It is here where Daisy has an appointment with Giovanelli (2: 269-71). After she rejects Mrs. Walker’s warning to return with her immediately, the latter’s “carriage was traversing that part of the Pincian Garden which overhangs the wall of Rome and overlooks the beautiful Villa Borghese” (278). That wall is the Aurelian Wall, constructed by the 3<sup>rd</sup> century emperor after whom it is named. The third chapter then ends nearby, namely



around the Pincian Gate, where James himself once stayed at a hotel in 1873 (*CLHJ* 1872-6 1: 188, 190), visited (241) enjoyed (2: 99, 100, 102) and later missed (1876-8 1: 19-20). It is also a favourite place of Hubert Lawrence's from *Watch and Ward* (*N* 1: 76, 87) and of Roderick Hudson's (Chapters III-VIII *passim*).

At the beginning of the last chapter, Winterbourne demonstrates how socially sensitive he is to all of these parallels between ancient Rome and modern America by advising Daisy that "when you deal with natives you must go by the custom of the place" (*CS* 2: 281).<sup>18</sup> James simply could not resist invoking the proverb "when in Rome, do as the Romans do," attributed to St. Ambrose, the fourth century Bishop of Milan, by Jeremy Taylor in his *Ductor Dubitantium, or the Rule of Conscience . . .* (1660). The novelist also could not resist labelling Giovanelli as Daisy's "cicerone" (290), the etymology of this word deriving from the name of the illustrious Roman orator Cicero, when "guide" would have sufficed. This last episode also occurs on the Palatine (288-90), where the famous statesman lived (Cerutti). That the Sabine women were violated here and "the Temple of Cybele, the great mother goddess, whose male priests practiced orgiastic ceremonies that ended in a frenzy of blood-letting and emasculation" (Deakin 9), stood at this hill are not coincidences either.

James then transitions from ancient history and archaeology to classical mythology, continuing to switch between these disciplines so often until the end of the story that the difference between reality and fiction begins to blur, not unlike the first books of Livy's "history." The reader learns, for instance, that "[a] week afterwards he [Winterbourne] went to dine at a beautiful villa on the Caelian Hill" (*CS* 2: 290), one of the legendary seven in Rome. The Villa Celimontana, or Villa Mattei, is located there

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<sup>18</sup> James had also revealingly confused the United States and Rome in a letter to Jane Norton dated 18 February 1873: "It doesn't make very 'middling' American society any better to be disporting itself against ~~an~~ a ~~Ameri~~ [^]Roman[^] background" (*CLHJ* 1872-6 1: 223). Lady Chamber of "Miss Gunton Poughkeepsie" also compares both civilisations (*CS* 5: 214).

and is presumably the “beautiful” building in question. On 1 February 1873 James had lunch there, the residence at the time of his friend, the Baroness von Hoffmann (née Lily Ward) at the time and her husband, the Baron Richard von Hoffmann.<sup>19</sup> Within its grounds is also where the second king of early Rome, Numa Pompilius, would meet the nymph Egeria (Kraan 473-4), who would give him wise counsels and whom he eventually married.<sup>20</sup> That Winterbourne does not pick up on Daisy’s constant flirtations with him throughout the story (*CS* 2: 247, 273, 277, 281, 293), her way of communicating her true feelings towards him, seems to be an ironic reworking of this myth.

For, although Winterbourne thinks he “offered you [Daisy] advice” (282), the roles are in fact reversed. Like Egeria, Daisy offers romantic opportunities to Winterbourne to seize, from implying wanting to be accompanied to the Château de Chillon (247), to asking him whether he believes she is engaged to Giovanelli in an attempt to learn what his true feelings for her are (292-3). At first Winterbourne, although taken somewhat aback by her directness, accepts these advances; yet, he gradually begins to decline them, not because his attraction to Daisy diminishes, but rather in the face of pressure from the American expatriate community. Repressed, he accuses her of being a “flirt” (*CS* 2: 247, 273, 293) – to which Daisy even admits (281). She, in turn, constantly teases him of being so “stiff” (280-1, 289) that at first “[s]he asked him if he was a ‘real American;’ she wouldn’t have taken him for one; he seemed more like a German” (243). For his part, Winterbourne is sufficiently persuaded to feel “that he had lived at Geneva so long that he had lost a good deal; he had become

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<sup>19</sup> *CLHJ* 1872-6 1: 203, 207, 293; 2: 75; 1876-8 2: 38, 41.

<sup>20</sup> Plut. *Num.* IV, VIII; Ov. *Fast.* III.154, 262, 275-6; *Met.* XV.479-551. Later, in 1899, James visited Diana’s place of worship at Lake Nemi, just south of Rome, where Egeria’s sacred fount was located, the source for his novel *The Sacred Fount* (Edel Henry James 4: 296-8), which also contains a reference to the nymph (*N* 5: 24). Kventsel, too, has noticed “the classical, allegorical frame supplied by the title; the observance of neoclassical unities” (5). Egeria is mentioned in the tale “The Madonna of the Future” (*CS* 1: 749) as well.

dishabituated to the American tone” (246). Though he continues to scold her for not doing as the Romans do when in Rome, she is in effect trying to help him regain his identity. Daisy continues along this path until her demise, which Winterbourne dearly regrets, an ending similar if not ironic to that of the Roman myth where it is Numa who eventually perishes instead, leaving his wife so broken-hearted that her tears transform her into a spring on the Caelian, where Winterbourne had dined.

After his dinner, Winterbourne strolls through the Arch of Constantine and the Forum at night when “[t]here was a waning moon in the sky, and *her* radiance was not brilliant, but *she* was veiled in a thin cloud-curtain which seemed to diffuse and equalize it” (290 [my emphases]). In the Roman context this poetically feminized moon seems to recall the goddess Luna (Greek Selene) or the other divinity with lunar characteristics, Diana (Greek Artemis).

Returning to history and archaeology, Winterbourne enters the Colosseum where he stumbles upon Daisy and Giovanelli. Although Daisy notices someone, she does not realize that it is Winterbourne, commenting, “Well, he looks at us as one of the old lions or tigers may have looked at the Christian martyrs!” (291). When she discovers his identity, she exclaims, “He saw me – and he cuts me” as a gladiator in very same spot would have done centuries ago. The narrator equally notes, “[b]ut he wouldn’t cut her.”<sup>21</sup>

This scene ends with one last mythological allusion. When Winterbourne reminds Daisy to take her medicine to counter malaria she answers,

“*I don’t care,*” said Daisy, in a little strange tone, “whether I have Roman fever or not!” Upon this the *cab*-driver cracked his whip, and they rolled away over the desultory patches of the *antique* pavement. (293 [my emphases])

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<sup>21</sup> In the New York Edition (1907-9) Daisy exclaims, “he cuts me dead” (NYE 18: 86). When Herbert Dodd of “The Bench of Desolation” (1909-10) meets Captain Roper, he too “cut[s] him dead” (CS 5: 885), another tribute to “Daisy Miller.” What is more, Dodd remembers “the playmates of his youth [who] used to pretend to settle by plucking the petals of a daisy” (887).

The insolence that is projected here along with the image of a carriage carrying its passenger off for the last time along an ancient Roman road resonates with the myth of the heedless charioteer Phaëton in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (I.746-II.339) and mentioned briefly by Horace as well (*Odes* IV.11.25-6). When she eventually dies as a result of her negligence, like Phaëton, Daisy is buried "in the little Protestant cemetery, in an angle of the wall of imperial Rome" (CS 2: 294). This wall is the Aurelian Wall, the same as that mentioned in the scene at the Pincian Gate. Beautifully presented in terms of setting then, just like the circuit that encircles ancient Rome, Daisy's Roman adventure has come full circle.

With the novella now placed in its classical context, attention can be focused on the theme, setting and structure, all of which will reveal more specifically the Horatian qualities of the text.

#### *The Carpe Diem Theme & the Setting*

One of the most prevalent themes in the works of Henry James is that of awareness that comes too late. George Perkins (456) believes that it is no less than "[a]n important part of his work," citing as major examples the novels *The American* (1876-7), *The Portrait of a Lady* (1880-1), *The Wings of the Dove* (1902), *The Ambassadors* (1903), and *The Golden Bowl* (1904). Though other critics have noted the presence of the theme in more of the author's writings, there is no consensus as to where or when the germ for this idea grew. According to Dorothea Krook, for instance, it first appeared as "the idea of Too [sic] late" (CN 112-3) in a notebook entry dated 5 February 1895 and surfaced periodically until 1901 (140-2, 183, 199), after which, she argues, James started including it in his fiction, beginning with "The Beast in the Jungle" of 1903 (*The Ordeal of Consciousness in Henry James* 332-5). Citing similar evidence, Marvin Magalaner and Edmond L. Volpe call it "the theme of wasted life" and push its

introduction into James's fiction marginally back to 1899 with the publication of the tale "Europe" (211). M. Corona Sharp believes that this "theme of what a man may have missed by rejecting a woman's love in marriage" began in 1879 with "The Diary of a Man of Fifty" when James started to grow "more and more lonely in his old age" yearning "for what *might have been*" (xxix). Leo B. Levy, on the other hand, referring to this theme as "the idea of the missed opportunity" notices it in works as early as "A Day of Days" (1866), after which he claims it became a recurring idea throughout James's career until *The Ambassadors* (*Versions of Melodrama* 32). Saul Rosenzweig, furthermore, detects what he calls James's notion of "the unlived life" in the even earlier "The Story of a Year" (1865), which seemed to him to be a forerunner to "The Jolly Corner" of 1908.<sup>22</sup> He believes the motif to have originated from James's difficult childhood, interpreting the earlier story as the Master writing prophetically about how his own life would end unfulfilled. By mining a more classical vein, however, particularly in "Daisy Miller," the influence of the *carpe diem* leitmotif can be detected.

At the beginning of the third chapter, for instance, Mrs. Costello claims that the Millers "are bad enough to dislike, at any rate; and for this *short life* that is quite enough" (*CS* 2: 265 [my emphasis]), hinting at the *carpe diem* theme. Also, throughout the majority of the novella and despite his true feelings toward her, Winterbourne has done nothing but reprimand Daisy for her behaviour (271-3, 276, 280-2, 288-9, 291-3) when instead he should have ignored the gossip (250-2, 264-5, 274-9, 283-6) and seized the various occasions that she had been providing him to open up to her (260-4, 268, 270-2, 276, 280-2, 288-90).<sup>23</sup> When he descends from his carriage to take a nocturnal stroll through the ancient Roman ruins and into the Colosseum, the story enters its climax

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<sup>22</sup> 436, 449, 454, 455. Rosenzweig adds "Sir Edmund Orme" (1891), "Owen Wingrave" (1892) and "The Beast in the Jungle" to his list of stories that also contain the theme in question (439, 445-6).

<sup>23</sup> Conversely, in the dramatic version, Winterbourne realizes this mistake and tries to atone for it (*CP* 154, 156), which is a major reason why the play is not as acclaimed as the short novel is.

(290). Falling upon the sight of his love interest in the company of Giovanelli, Winterbourne, after obsessing about her “innocence” for months, believes that this Sphinxian riddle suddenly “had become easy to read. She was a young lady whom a gentleman need no longer be at pains to respect” (291). Daisy, nevertheless, continues to flirt with him, the last chance for Winterbourne to make amends by expressing his repressed feelings for her in this imperial Roman backdrop, but to no avail as he ultimately ignores Horace’s ancient advice to *carpe diem*, a decision that he soon regrets (292-3).

In the play, unlike the novella, Winterbourne actually realizes as early as at Vevey that “[i]f I should never know her in America, it seems to me a reason for *seizing the opportunity* here” (CP 135 [my emphasis]), another hint at Horace’s *carpe diem* philosophy. Still in the dramatic version, when Daisy recovers from malaria, she stresses to Giovanelli that “I hate the future; I care only for the present!” (CP 166) a true devotee of Horace: *carpe diem, quam minimum credula postero* (*Odes* I.11.8), “seize the day, putting as little trust in tomorrow as possible.” Afterwards, when Madame de Katkoff, who is not in the novella, confesses her forced participation in the plan of the Miller family’s courier Eugenio to separate Winterbourne and Daisy, the theme is stressed once more by her urging Winterbourne that “[i]f you will believe me, it’s not too late [to return to Daisy]!” (CP 171).

Returning to the novella, Daisy’s contraction of Roman fever at the ancient arena leads to the denouement of the story, her death and burial near another ruin, “an angle of the wall of imperial Rome” (CS 2: 294).<sup>24</sup> Here Giovanelli reveals the fact of her innocence to Winterbourne, who, as a result, experiences an epiphany about her true

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<sup>24</sup> Connected to the Aurelian Wall is another ancient monument, “the hoary pyramid of Caius Cestius, which rises hard by, half within the wall and half without” (CTW 2: 468). The location has such a hold on James that he also mentions both “the Pyramid of Caius Cestius & the Protestant Cemetery” in a letter to his mother (CLHJ 1872-6 1: 196).

character. This revelation is an example of that central Jamesian theme of awareness that comes too late, an observation duly noted by readers here.<sup>25</sup> What they have not observed, however, are that the settings at both crucial points in the narrative, the climax at the ancient amphitheatre and the denouement near the imperial wall (and pyramid), suggest a classical hint in the story's moral about lost opportunity, one that seems to point at the *carpe diem* idea. In this text, then, the Horatian motif seems to be the driving force behind James's too late theme.

"Daisy Miller" is not the only, or even the first, piece of writing in which James expresses *carpe diem* in an ancient Roman milieu. A letter written in the Italian capital from him to Grace Norton, the sister of Charles Eliot, dated 11 November 1869 contains the following:

You ask about your old friend [the Church of] San Clemente. I paid him a visit the other afternoon & found him full of sweet antiquity & solitude. It's since you were here I suppose, that he has been found to have an elder brother buried beneath the soil, on whose prostrate form he has settled himself so placidly. I was too late to explore: but shall not fail to return.— Too late; my dear Grace those words remind me of the actual flight of time. You must let this hasty scribble serve as a note of my deep enjoyment. I do wish I could put into my poor pale words some faint reflection of the color & beauty of this glorious old world. (*CLHJ* 1855-72 2: 196-7)

From this bit of evidence, then, James's idea of "too late" seems to have come from his first trip to Rome, and is the earliest known reference of its kind to the theme under discussion. "The Church of San Clemente," as an editor's note to the letter adds,

connects the Coliseum and the Basilica of San Giovanni in Laterano; this is one of the oldest churches in Rome, erected in 1108 on the ruins of an even older church that was mentioned as early as 392. (199)

One can conclude, therefore, that this idea of awareness that comes too late took its Roman shape then and there, inspiring James throughout his career. Indeed, subsequent works such as *The Portrait of a Lady* and "The Beast in the Jungle" that contain this

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<sup>25</sup> Beach 14; Geismar 31; Koprince "The Clue from Manfred in *Daisy Miller*" 298-301; "Edith Wharton, Henry James, and 'Roman Fever'" 22; Yacobi 32; and Tintner "*Daisy Miller* and Chaucer's 'Daisy' Poem" 11, 15-9.

theme, as already illustrated by Perkins, Krook and Rosenzweig, tend to display strong Italian, if not more specifically (ancient) Roman, connections. The novel, for instance, is largely set in Rome, and Joseph B. McCollough sees Madame Merle as the white raven in the second book of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* as well as Juno and Niobe (313-6). In the short story, the protagonists John Marcher and May Bartram reminisce about their having taken refuge in Pompeii during a storm a decade earlier, which Bruce Fogelman interprets as a reworking of the love scene between Aeneas and Dido in a cave during the tempest in Book IV of Virgil's *Aeneid* (68-71).

Two more letters, written in central Italy in 1873, further strengthen this connection. The earlier one, from Albano, near Rome, to Elizabeth Boott, dated 26 April, explains that "the ray of sunshine flickers & reminds me that, if I am ~~d~~ to do anything to day I must cease the moment" (*CLHJ 1872-6 1*: 276). "Cease" in this context means "seize" as James uses the same spelling and definition in a letter to his parents only months later.<sup>26</sup> Similarly, in the second letter, written at nearby Perugia to his brother William dated 19 May, James reveals that

the enchanting experience of Rome in April ~~was~~ and May was too valuable to be sacrificed: so I said to myself: "Get your impressions now; you may never have another chance; & use them afterward." (1: 292)

"Daisy Miller," with its undercurrent of regret in the midst of ancient Roman monuments all together suggesting the unheeded *carpe diem* theme, seems to have been a major result of these observations, one that brought James his first popular success (1876-8 2: 177-8, 182, 184, 186, 193).

What is more, "Adina" (1874) and "The Solution" (1889) are two other tales set in Rome that involve the *carpe diem* theme, the only difference being that in the cases of both these stories Horace's advice is heeded. Respectively, Angelo Beati seizes

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<sup>26</sup> *CLHJ 1872-6 2*: 33; see also 269 for an explanation.



Adina Waddington (the idea having crept into his head when at the Colosseum [CS 1: 920-4]), while Henry Wilmerding is seized by Mrs Rushbrook. Wilmerding, furthermore, is described by the narrator as “a knight [of romance]” on three separate occasions (3: 669, 692, 696) and Mrs Rushbrook confirms this description twice (694, 695). The similarities to Dr. Horace Knight of “A Most Extraordinary Case,” mentioned earlier, demonstrate the extent to which James extends this Horatian identity to his characters. One may conclude, then, that the so-called theme of awareness that comes too late is, in fact, the *carpe diem* idea, which James often placed in Roman contexts as a tribute to Horace.

### *Structure*

In addition to the *carpe diem* theme, “Daisy Miller” is indebted to the *Odes* in the manner it is structured as well. That the novella is divided into four chapters is no coincidence. One of the most common images in the text is that of the changing seasons to signify the passage of time. First, there are the names of the main characters: Winterbourne represents winter and death, Daisy spring and life. The novella begins “in the month of June” (2: 238), and in the following section Daisy teases Winterbourne about his “charmer in Geneva” (263) playfully asking him, “Doesn’t she give you a vacation in summer?” The next time they meet is in Rome where the Millers “are going to stay all winter” (271). The very first word of the third chapter is, in fact, “Winterbourne” (264 [my emphasis]), who, as the reader is informed in the same sentence, “went to Rome towards the end of January.” Near the end of the novella, Daisy is buried “beneath the cypresses and the thick spring-flowers” (294) where Winterbourne “stood staring at the raw protuberance among the April daisies” (295). Seasonally, the tale comes full circle when in “the following summer he [Winterbourne] again met his aunt, Mrs. Costello, at Vevey”. James, therefore, divided his tale into as

many chapters as there are seasons in a year.

Two of Horace's *Odes* bear striking resemblance in this respect. First, *Ode* I.4 begins

Winter loosens its biting grip on welcoming spring and the West Wind.

During this seasonal transition,

... Cytherean Venus leads the dancers as the moon hangs above,  
and the fit Graces united with the Nymphs  
shake the ground with alternate foot, ... (lines 5-7)

Then,

now it is time to enwrap one's shiny head either with fresh myrtle  
or with flowers that the loosened earth bears. (9-10)

Finally,

Pale Death knocks with even foot on the cottages of the poor  
and the towers of the rich. ... (13-4)

Most of these images, namely the seasons, dancing nymphs (Daisy loves to dance [CS 2: 277, 280]), the moon (in the Colosseum scene [290]), (blossoming) flowers and death, appear in "Daisy Miller" and, moreover, they do so in roughly the same order.

Second, more of the same imagery can be found in *Ode* IV.7; so much so, in fact, that it can probably be viewed as a more sophisticated reworking of the previous poem.<sup>27</sup> It also begins with the end of winter and start of spring (lines 1-4), continues with the Graces and nymphs dancing about again (5-6), gives warning that we are not immortal (7-8), includes a wonderful stanza in which each of the four lines contains one distinct season representing the annual cycle (9-12), and mentions the moon (13) as well as the brevity of life once more (14-28). Since "Daisy Miller" follows these images in similar order, Horace's four books of *Odes* may have been on the novelist's mind when composing his tale. Again, James pays tribute to the Latin poet's work by dividing his story into as many chapters, which has the added effect of representing the number of

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<sup>27</sup> For a discussion on the similarities, see Nisbet and Hubbard *A Commentary on Horace Odes, Book I* 59-61, 65, 68-9 and Horace *Odes Book IV and Carmen Saeculare* 174-5.

yearly seasons. Therefore, just like the third stanza of this poem as well as the calendar year, “Daisy Miller” neatly comes full circle in its four chapters.

### *Carpe Florem*

The floral imagery present in many of Horace’s *carpe diem* poems as well as in James’s short novel is very characteristic of the theme’s long legacy. As James Ellis Wellington well noted in perhaps the most extensive study on the topic,

[o]f all the poetic images with which the carpe diem theme of man’s mortality has been portrayed, none is so widely known and so universally encountered as that of the withering rose. Representing as it does the indissoluble relationship between man and the world around him, this image has been used again and again, in the poetry of all times and all places, to symbolize the fleetingness of the individual and all that he holds dear in a world that is subject to constant change.<sup>28</sup>

In the entire Horatian canon, roses only appear in the *Odes*,<sup>29</sup> three times in which they are associated with youth and the transience of life.<sup>30</sup> Yet the imagery is not limited to the rose alone, as Wellington again duly observes:

Sometimes, for the sake of variety, a poet will substitute another flower--a lily, perhaps, or a violet, or a tulip--and sometimes, too, he will use only the word flower itself, leaving the exact species undifferentiated. But such variants are a relatively trivial matter. The point is that the most perishable, the most delicately lovely, of nature’s creations are employed metaphorically in carpe diem poetry to symbolize the transience of man’s most precious possessions--youth, beauty, love, and life itself. (391-2)

Horace uses *flos*, “flower,” in all its declensions in his *Epistles* as well (I.5.14, II.1.79), but again it is most frequent in the *Odes* (I.26.7; III.8.2, 13.2, 27.29, 44), about half of whose instances are also found in the context of the brevity of beauty, youth and life,<sup>31</sup> some of which are further used in junction with his *rosae* to mean more specifically the

<sup>28</sup> 391. For a more recent and very succinct survey on the history of the coupling of this theme with the rose, including plenty of examples throughout Western literature, see Ferber 174-6.

<sup>29</sup> *Odes* I.5.1, 36.15, 38.3; II.11.14; III.19.22, 29.3.

<sup>30</sup> *Odes* II.3.13-14; III.15.15; IV.10.4.

<sup>31</sup> *Odes* I.4.10, II.11.9-10, IV.1.3; *Epist.* II.1.144.

bloom or petals of the rose.<sup>32</sup> This idea is, thus, also known as the *carpe florem*, “seize the flower,” theme, coined by J. B. Leishman (97-9) after a line from Horace’s younger contemporary Ovid, *carpite florem*, “seize [plural] the flower” (*Ars am.* III.79), although the older poet does write a very similar expression in *Ode* III.27.44, *carpere flores*, “to seize the flowers.”

Commentators on the *Odes* have noted that “[t]he theme continues in authors of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,”<sup>33</sup> but Tintner sees “Daisy Miller” as being inspired by the “flower poems and leaf *ballads* of the medieval courtly world” (“Daisy Miller and Chaucer’s ‘Daisy’ Poem” 10). Indeed, Geoffrey Chaucer’s *The Prologue of the Legend of Good Women*, which sings about the virtues of nine famous females, begins similarly to James’s novella with seasonal and floral images:

al the someres day<sup>34</sup> ...  
Upon the fresshe daysy to beholde (line 92) ...  
strowe floures on my bed. (101)

Three of these Chaucerian women are Dido, Medea and Ariadne, classical mythological figures who, like Daisy, give their love to men who do not reciprocate it (Tintner “Daisy Miller and Chaucer’s ‘Daisy’ Poem” 22). According to the online version of the *Oxford English Dictionary* the etymology of the word “daisy” is

*dæges eage*, day’s eye, eye of day, alluding to the appearance of the flower, and to its closing the ray, so as to conceal the yellow disk, in the evening, and opening again in the morning.

In *Daisy Miller*, the name is accentuated when Winterbourne informs the audience that Mrs. Walker

used to call her the little Flower of the West. But now she’s holding the little flower in her fingertips, at arm’s length, trying to decide to let it drop

<sup>32</sup> *Odes* II.3.13-4; III.29.3; IV.10.4. The verb *florere*, “to bloom,” in its various conjugations occurs three times in Horace (*Epod.* XVI.44), two of which are connected with youth (*Ars P.* 62, 115).

<sup>33</sup> Nisbet and Hubbard *A Commentary on Horace Odes, Book II* 61, who also include non-English examples.

<sup>34</sup> Line 90; the text is from Tintner, “Daisy Miller and Chaucer’s ‘Daisy’ Poem” 20.

to which Mme. de Katkoff replies, “Poor little flower!”<sup>35</sup> Even Alice Durant who, like Katkoff, also does not appear in the novella, calls Daisy “a wall-flower” (CP 162). Daisy’s name, therefore, stands in the long tradition of *carpe florem* whereby Winterbourne’s inaction in the original story symbolizes his failure to seize his very own day’s eye.

One might even read the Colosseum scene as the *deflowering* of Daisy by Giovanelli in Winterbourne’s imagination when he discovers them together at night. In fact, the Roman gentleman may very well be a modern version of Horace for his singing skills (CS 2: 280-2), short stature (283, 285, 286), status as a “*cavaliere*” (285; CP 145, 146, 147, 161; or “knight”), more than friendly interest in Daisy, the flowers in his breast pocket<sup>36</sup> (except at Daisy’s funeral [CS 2: 294]) and general *joie de vivre* resemble his ancestral lyric poet who was also “of short stature,”<sup>37</sup> a member of the equestrian order, “rather lustful” (Suet. *Vita Hor.*), included flowers in his poetry and coined the *carpe diem* theme. Indeed, Giovanelli, despite his name which means “little youth” in Italian, so much as says so to Daisy in the histrionic version: “Ah, you know, I’m an old Roman” (CP 166). From Horace through Chaucer, then, James continues this long tradition of fusing together flowery imagery with the transience of youth, beauty, love and life.

#### *Prose, Poetry & the Legacy of Carpe Diem*

When Winterbourne enters the Roman arena he begins

to murmur Byron’s famous lines, out of “Manfred;” but before he finishes his quotation he remembers that if nocturnal meditations in the Colosseum are recommended by the poets, they are deprecated by the doctors. (CS 2: 290)

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<sup>35</sup> CP 144; see also 160 and 174.

<sup>36</sup> CS 2: 272, 289; CP 145, 147. He also brings flowers to her in the play (CP 161, 162).

<sup>37</sup> Hor. *Epist.* I.20.24; see also Suetonius’s *Vita Horatii*: “in person he was short.”

This second Byronic reference in the novella<sup>38</sup> is not the only poet about whom Winterbourne is thinking, as the plural form “poets” implies.<sup>39</sup> Aside from Horace and Chaucer already discussed, Goethe, Herrick, Jonson, Keats and Shelley can be added to this list.

Tintner believes that Johann Wolfgang von Goethe is being alluded to here because the passage reminds her of the German’s *Italienische Reise* (1816-7), *Italian Journey*, in which is described his famous pilgrimage to the amphitheatre one night (*The Cosmopolitan World of Henry James* 50). James probably read this work because he calls his trip to Italy in 1899 “my Italiënische Reise” in a letter to Minnie Bourget (*HJL* 4: 102), while owning some volumes of his other works (Edel and Tintner 25, 34) as well as a biography of his life (45), some editions of which were published before 1878, but there is no way of ascertaining when he read any of them. Goethe is also mentioned in *The American* (*N* 1: 578), serialized just before “Daisy Miller.” These “poets,” then, whether they are ancient, medieval or modern, make their presence felt in the novella, despite it being a work of prose, a distinction in literary genre that need not raise any eyebrows.

In fact, scholars have already demonstrated how fond Henry James was of poetry,<sup>40</sup> while even William Dean Howells described his friend as possessing “the imagination of a poet” (137). James himself saw his writing style in poetic terms (*LC* 2:

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<sup>38</sup> In the first two chapters, Winterbourne and Daisy discuss about and visit the Château de Chillon at Vevey (*CS* 2: 247-9, 251-2, 257-8, 260-4), a reference to *The Prisoner of Chillon* (1816) by Lord Byron and the sad theme of loneliness that Winterbourne, like François Bonnivard, experiences in the end (Wood 41-2). The castle is used early on as a literary device to set up the *carpe diem* theme and thus to foreshadow Winterbourne’s missed opportunity.

<sup>39</sup> In the play version there are two quotations from Byron’s *Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage*: the first is uttered by Mrs. Costello, “I have no desire to be butchered to make a Roman holiday” (*CP* 160) from Canto IV.1267; and the second by Daisy, “There was a sound of revelry by night” (*CP* 163) from III.181. For more on “Daisy Miller” and Byron, see Koprince “The Clue from *Manfred* in *Daisy Miller*.”

<sup>40</sup> Some of his other works can be considered poetic, too; for instance, “The Turn of the Screw” has been described by Heilman as a dramatic poem, and Perkins writes how James as a novelist is different from most others in that his late phase can best be understood by analyzing his previous works just as poets are usually studied (455). For surveys on this view, see Horne “Henry James among the Poets” and Raleigh. See also Kaplan (42-3) where Henry James Sr. talks about how his son began writing poetry first.

1333-4). As for “Daisy Miller,” he explains in the preface to the New York Edition (1907-9) that the reason why he removed the subtitle “A Study” was

in view of the simple truth, which ought from the first to have been apparent to me, that my little exhibition is made to no degree whatever in critical but, quite inordinately and extravagantly, in poetical terms. (1270)

He then proceeds to describe the novella as “a poetic artifice” (1271) and its title character as “pure poetry, and had never been anything else,” as the revisions to the original text indeed indicate it to be.<sup>41</sup> Even her smile, according to Charles Reverdy, another character who appears only in the dramatic version, is “a poem in itself” (*CP* 124). It is no wonder, then, why Peter Buitenhuis writes that “*Daisy Miller* approaches the concentration of a short lyric poem” (“From Daisy Miller to Julia Bride” 138), not unlike an Horatian ode. For, he continues, “[t]he image of Daisy seems to linger charmingly and gracefully in the mind like the image of, say, Robert Herrick’s Julia,” a poet also famous for his “To the Virgins, to Make Much of Time” in *Hesperides* (1648) and its oft quoted first line

Gather ye rosebuds while ye may,

another descendent of Horace’s *Ode* I.11, according to Joanna Martindale.<sup>42</sup>

For these reasons is Daisy buried in the same cemetery where the Romantics John Keats and Percy Bysshe Shelley lie.<sup>43</sup> James was certainly well read in Keats, and appreciated the poet’s classicism. The name of Porphyro from *Eve of St. Agnes* (1819),

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<sup>41</sup> Hocks “Daisy Miller, Backward into the Past” 170, 178. James also admitted that “[a] good deal of the same element has doubtless sneaked into ‘Pandora’” (*LC* 2: 1271-2), a tale which includes direct references to “Daisy Miller” and whose title character, Pandora Day, is named after the ancient Greek myth of Pandora’s jar from the epic poem *Works and Days* (my emphasis) by Hesiod. For a thorough comparison of the tale and myth see Tintner *Pop* 110-22. For a novel as another example, Hocks also sees *The Ambassadors* poetically (*The Ambassadors: Consciousness, Culture, Poetry* 88-109).

<sup>42</sup> 75-8. In her argument, J. Martindale qualifies that Herrick is reaching back to Horace via Ben Jonson’s *The Devil is an Ass* (1616) when Wittipol woos Mistress Fitzdottrell with language that recalls the *carpe florem* theme:

But ere your spring be gone, enjoy it. Flowers,  
Though faire, are oft but of one morning. Think,  
All beauty doth not last until the autumn.  
You grow old while I tell you this. (I.vi.128-32)

<sup>43</sup> James comments on their graves in “The After-Season in Rome” (*CTW* 2: 468).

which appears in “Very Modern Rome” (1878; *CTW* 2: 759), a letter (3 April 1878; *CLHJ* 1876-8 2: 86) and a notebook entry (*CN* 259), for instance, is Greek in origin, πορφύρεος, meaning “purple”.<sup>44</sup> The beautiful boy of “Ode on a Grecian Urn” (1819) reminds Jefferey Meyers of Winterbourne (99), while Christina E. Albers (249) sees the poem in “Flickerbridge” (1902) as J. U. Jacobs does in “The Jolly Corner” (51, 58). George Corvick of “The Figure in the Carpet” (1896) “had no wish to approach the altar before he had prepared the sacrifice” (*CS* 4: 589), an image strongly reminiscent of this poem as well:

Who are these coming to the sacrifice?  
To what green altar, O mysterious priest,  
Lead’st thou that heifer lowing at the skies. (lines 31-3)

In *Notes of a Son and Brother* (1914), the passage “... – so that through whatever bristling mazes we may now pick our way it is not to find them open into any such vales of Arcady” (*Au* 252) may derive from the first stanza of this “Ode on a Grecian Urn”:

What leaf-fringed legend haunts about thy shape  
Of deities or mortals, or of both,  
In Tempe or the *dales* of Arcady? (lines 5-7 [my emphasis])

Tintner (“The Elgin Marbles and Titian’s ‘Bacchus and Ariadne’”; *Museum* 75-7) argues that mention of Titian’s *Bacchus and Ariadne* (1520-3) alongside the Elgin Marbles in *The Princess Casamassima* (1886; *N* 3: 201) and “The Velvet Glove” (1909; *CS* 5: 743-4, 745, 747, 756) can be traced back to Keat’s *Endymion: A Poetic Romance* (1818), “Ode to a Nightingale” (1819), the sonnets “On Seeing the Elgin Marbles” (1817) and “To B. R. Haydon, with a Sonnet Written on Seeing the Elgin Marbles” (1817). Finally, Jonathan Arac (“Henry James and Edward Said” 236-8) and Sergio

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<sup>44</sup> According to Ferber (177), Porphyro is named as such because he is associated with the violet, while his lover Madeline is connected with, of course, the rose

Into her dream he melted, as the rose

Blendeth its odour with the violet – (lines 320-1; see also lines 136-8)

Gilbreath acknowledges that his name could mean the colour (20 n.2), but she prefers other, always Greek, origins.



Perosa (158) have noted the reference in *The Golden Bowl* to Keats's "On First Looking into Chapman's Homer" (1816).

As for Shelley, James wrote to Elizabeth Boott on 15 June 1878 that he envied her staying at "San Terenzo & that old castle above Lerici" (*CLHJ* 1876-8 2: 152), "[a] town," the editors of the letter note, that was "once home to Byron and Shelley" (153). At the end of this missive, James informs Boott that he sends her "a Cornhill – I had already sent one. I will send part II," which the editors interpret as "[p]resumably the issues including the two parts of 'Daisy Miller'" (154). Since James and Boott were in constant correspondence with each other, her stay at San Terenzo while he wrote his novella may have reminded him of the Romantic poets as well as other poetry. There is also anecdotes about fans who tried to obtain Shelley's letters (including some of Byron's as well [*CN* 33-4, 110]) and autograph (*CLHJ* 1876-8 2: 154), inspiring James to write "The Aspern Papers" in which the narrator (rather autobiographically) declares that he himself is not "a poet" (*CS* 3: 260). In *Notes of a Son and Brother* James admits, and in classical terms, that from early in his career

I still then had to take myself for might perhaps hope to woo the muse. The muse was of course the muse of prose fiction – never for the briefest hour in my case the presumable, not to say the presuming, the much-taking-for-granted muse of rhyme, with whom I had never had, even in thought, the faintest flirtation. (*Au* 439-40)

At the Italian capital, when writing "Roman Rides," just five years before "Daisy Miller," James felt that "Springtime in Rome is an immensely poetic affair" (*CTW* 2: 442), and of course the classical ruins only added to the effect: "you must stand often far out in the ancient waste, between grass and sky, to measure its deep, full, steadily accelerated rhythm."

Georg Lukács has argued how literary genre cannot necessarily be defined by whether a piece is written in verse or prose (56-9), and Wai-chee Dimock concurs that

this is especially true with Jamesian texts (“Pre-national Time” 218-9; *Through Other Continents* 90-2). As can be seen with “Daisy Miller,” poetry from ancient through medieval to modern times played a large role both structurally and thematically. That three of the most notable poets in English literature appear in the novella, namely Byron (twice, and twice more in the play), Shelley and Keats, all of whom died young in classical countries, aged 36 in Greece, 29 in Lerici, Italy and 25 in Rome, respectively, as does the title character, further highlights the *carpe diem* theme of this story.

### *Conclusion*

A closer look at the canon of Henry James has demonstrated that he was more often in dialogue with Horace than previously thought. In no other writing does this influence manifest itself greater than in “Daisy Miller,” whereby its setting, structure, characters, imagery and theme all come together to resonate most poignantly with the poet’s *Odes*. The common Jamesian theme of awareness that comes too late tends to appear in other works of the American’s fiction as well as non-fiction, both early and late, that are closely associated with Italy and particularly (ancient) Rome. This observation suggests that its origin may derive from the *carpe diem* theme, at least more so than Rosenzweig’s “prophetic” interpretation of “The Story of a Year,” Sharp’s theory that James began to feel old at 36 years of age or Krook’s and Magalaner and Volpe’s references to some of James’s later notebook entries.

Another theme, noted earlier when discussing Eugenio, Mesdames Miller, Costello and Walker, and St. Ambrose, contains a more serious, imperial strand. As Rowe has already noted, “Daisy Miller” represents more socially and less politically the American desire to learn the lessons of the Roman past as the United States gradually came to realize in the last third of the 19<sup>th</sup> century that they were becoming an international power (“Henry James and Globalization” 206-8). The Americans abroad

Daisy and Winterbourne symbolize these national growing pains of the 1870s – from republic to empire, colony to superpower. The Europeanized Winterbourne personifies the worldly experience and wisdom that the young and naïve Daisy now needs to gain (unfortunately) in order not just to become accepted, but to survive, as the next chapters shall explore.

## Chapter II: Virgil's Aeneid & The Ambassadors

In the preface to the New York Edition of *The Ambassadors*, Henry James explains the theme of his novel in *carpe diem/florem* terms:

The remarks to which he [Lewis Lambert Strether] thus gives utterance contain the essence of "The Ambassadors," his fingers close, before he has done, round the stem of the full-blown flower; which after that fashion, he continues officiously to present to us. "Live all you can; it's a mistake not to. It doesn't so much matter what you do in particular so long as you have your life. If you haven't had that what *have* you had? I'm too old – too old at any rate for what I see. What one loses one loses; make no mistake about that. Still, we have the illusion of freedom; therefore don't, like me to-day, be without the memory of that illusion. I was either, at the right time, too stupid or too intelligent to have it, and now I'm a case of reaction against the mistake. Do what you like so long as you don't make it. For it *was* a mistake. Live, live!" (N 6: 3)

David Wolf believes that this "live all you can" speech is rather Emersonian in spirit (26), but as seen in the previous chapter it is a literary commonplace which can stretch all the way back to Horace. Although the novel can be and has been read in this Horatian manner,<sup>1</sup> it can also be viewed from a Virgilian perspective; for, in many ways *The Ambassadors* is particularly indebted to the *Aeneid*. In fact, James makes considerable yet under-acknowledged imaginative use of Virgil throughout his corpus, particularly in *The Ambassadors*.

### *References to the Aeneid in James*

It is surprising to note how some previous readers of over the past century have not just failed to notice Virgilian references in the works of Henry James, but have even been so bold as to claim that they do not exist. As early as 1905 his own friend Charles E. Norton misguidedly wrote Weir Mitchell that neither James nor William Dean Howells

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<sup>1</sup> See Jungman and Tabor (84) for such a reading. Also, Levin in his Introduction to the Penguin Classics edition of *The Ambassadors* in 1986 writes that the novel "is the hedonistic message of the lyric poets: Horace's 'Carpe diem (Seize the Day),' Herrick's 'Gather ye rosebuds while ye may'" (Am 26).

have been as good as they would have been if they had been trained with some acquaintance in childhood with Homer and Virgil and the historic stream of imagination in literature. (Burr *Weir Mitchell* 308)

Adrian Poole over nine decades later still did not contradict this comment: “Ransacking James for allusions to the *Aeneid* does not yield many spoils” (76). Yet, as seen in the Introduction, James mentioned in his autobiography that he had indeed studied Virgil in the original Latin. In fact, Diana Wilson (13 n.4) believes that the teacher under whom he “worried out Virgil” (*Au* 243), M. Verchère, is the model for the “little bushy-browed old priest who taught me [Count Valerio] Latin and looked at me terribly over the book when I stumbled in my Virgil” (*CS* 1: 815) in the early tale “The Last of the Valerii.”

In this particular story, coincidentally, there is another allusion to the Roman poet. Suzi Naiburg (158) argues that the bust of Juno which so psychologically disturbs the Count acts like the goddess as represented in the *Aeneid* who threatens that

if I cannot bend the heavens, I will move the underworld (VII.312)

when she does not receive help from the other Olympians. Juno in this context can be seen as the goddess of the unconscious while her husband Jupiter, the god of the sky (and earth), personifies consciousness. Renowned psychoanalyst Sigmund Freud used this verse as the epigraph for his *Interpretation of Dreams* (1899) to demonstrate how powerful the unconscious is, a fact with which Count Valerio would no doubt agree.

This is not the earliest evidence of Virgil in James, however. The first comes from a letter written in 1860 at Bonn to Thomas Sergeant Perry in which his very first Latin lines can be found. Commenting on the annexation of Savoy to France, James describes the situation as something “miserabile dictu” (*CLHJ* 1855-72 1: 48), “sad to say.” This phrase is a play on the phrase *mirabile dictu*, “wonderful to say,” first used by Virgil, three times

in his *Georgics*<sup>2</sup> and more often later in the *Aeneid*.<sup>3</sup> At only 17 years old, James had already shown a facility in adapting the Roman's writings neatly and grammatically. In fact, this particular expression remained with him throughout his career as evidenced by its use in translation in the late tale "The Third Person" (1900): "And by morning, *wonderful to say*, they [the Misses Frush] were used to it [living in a haunted house] – had quite lived into it" (CS 5: 263; my emphasis).

The next instance of the *Aeneid* does not appear until October 1867 in a review of *The Life and Death of Jason: a Poem* by William Morris whose protagonist James compares "to the Virgilian Aeneas; although Mr. Morris has avoided Virgil's error of now and then allowing his hero to be contemptible" (LC 1: 1179). Only two months later in another review, this time of William Rounseville Alger's study *The Friendships of Women*, James criticized Alger for his comments on "the Dido in the 'Aeneid'" (201):

It is true Mr. Alger gives us Dido; but how, think you? Dido in what guise? In the category 'Friendships of Sisters,' *vis-à-vis* to her sister Anna. One fancies the great Virgilian funeral-pyre flaming up afresh in one supreme, indignant flash" (202).

The confidence found in such criticism at the age of only 24 demonstrates how comfortable he already was with the epic poem.

Two years later James's first trip to Italy, beginning in September of 1869, reminded him of Virgil. As if in anticipation of this journey, James's short story "Gabrielle de Bergerac" began serialization in July and contains his first use of the poet in his fiction, as already seen in the Introduction. Moreover, Pierre Coquelin is likened to Aeneas as a result "of his wanderings, and his odd companions and encounters, and charming tales of

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<sup>2</sup> G. II.30, III.275, IV.554. James also may have read the first book of the *Georgics*, for he uses the expression *ultima Thule* (line 30), "furthest Thule," four times: CTW 1: 508-9; 2: 604 (twice); N 5: 234. See also CTW 2: 609. Furthermore, in *The Papers* (1903), Mortimer Marshal reminds Howard Bight that "the hours are fleeting" (CS 5: 632), a translation of the proverbial *fugit [...] tempus* (G. III.284). These expressions, however, are rather proverbial, hence their relegation to a footnote.

<sup>3</sup> *Aen.* I.439; II.174, 680; III.26; IV.182; VII.64; VIII.252.

pure fantasy, which, with the best grace in the world, he would recite by the hour” (CS 1: 438). At the end of that year, James visited Naples, where Virgil spent much of his life, and its famous ancient tourist attractions such as the national museum and nearby Pompeii describing it all in rather Augustan terms:

On each side of me the bay [of Naples] stretches out its mighty arms – holding in one hand the sullen mass of Vesuvius & in the other, veiled in a mist which shadows forth the dimness of their classicism, the antique sites of Baiae & Cumae – all haunted with Horatian & Virgilian memories. (CLHJ 1855-72 2: 230)

Two more years afterwards, in “A Passionate Pilgrim” (1871), the Master quotes directly from the poet for the first time in his fiction. Clement Searle twice refers to an old friend as “my *fidus Achates*” (CS 1: 601), Aeneas’s “faithful” companion throughout the epic.<sup>4</sup> This expression, again, is quasi-proverbial, but the cumulative weight of the evidence gathered here suggests that James probably was aware of the Virgilian matrix. Furthermore, Wilson sees *Eclogue* I at work in this story as well.<sup>5</sup> She believes that Clement’s

nostalgia for what he desires, but will lose, echoes that of Meliboeus, who has to leave his farm and his “country’s bounds,” but it is ironic that Meliboeus has to leave Italy for one of the uncivilized outposts of the Roman Empire, perhaps England – “wholly sundered from all the world.” (124)

During the same year, Roger Lawrence of *Watch and Ward* wants to burn his dull diary, but Nora Lambert refuses (N 1: 34). This is reminiscent of Virgil’s own unfulfilled wish to have the *Aeneid* burned knowing he would die before he could completely finish editing it (Donat. *Vit. Verg.* XXXIX). Only three years later, a similar scene is presented in “Eugene Pickering” (1874), where Anastasia Blumenthal throws her just finished novel

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<sup>4</sup> *Aen.* I.187; VI.158; VIII.521, 586; XII.384.

<sup>5</sup> The first *Eclogue* seems to have been one of James’s favourites, as scholars have noted. Wilson (79) also perceives it in “A Landscape Painter” (1866), as the pastoral title suggests, as well as in “Roman Rides” (19). Kelley notices the poem in “Adina” (143). See too “The Private Life” (1892; CS 4: 73).

into the fire in spite of her lover's intellectual ridiculing of her. Astonished, he recovers whatever he can of it from the blaze (*CS* 2: 62-3).

In 1872 James published his travelogue on Chester, England, a Roman colony. It is famous for its ancient walls of which James was very fond (*CLHJ* 1872-6 1: 6, 8, 11). In the publication, James comments on the dichotomy in Britain between conservatism on the one hand, and "dissent and democracy and other vulgar variations" (*CTW* 1: 64) on the other. He is more specific about British democracy: he describes it as being "the poor *mens sibi conscia recti*," "mind conscious of its own rectitude." This quotation, again from the *Aeneid* (I.604) and longer than the previous one only a year earlier, demonstrates James's continued interest in, if not even growing familiarity with, the epic. In fact, considering the setting of this particular essay, one might even be tempted to remark that James at the time may have been nursing an increasing sympathy with the stability of the Augustan imperial ideal.

When the narrator of "The Madonna of the Future" (1873) and Theobald "went accordingly by appointment to a certain ancient house in the heart of Florence – the precinct of the Mercato Vecchio – and climbed a dark, steep staircase, to the very summit of the edifice" (*CS* 1: 747) echoes of *The Divine Comedy* resound. The image of two people ascending a very old Florentine place is too reminiscent of the ascent of the purgatorial mountain in the medieval epic, which features Virgil as Dante's guide, to ignore.<sup>6</sup> Although this is not exactly an ancient reference, it is nevertheless a good example of the Virgilian tradition in James.

In April of 1875 James specifically mentions Virgil among other Latin poets in the

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<sup>6</sup> In 1906 James described walking in the Church of Ascension in New York as "part of some other-world pilgrimage" (*CTW* 1: 433).



book review of Augustus Hare's travelogue *Days near Rome*, as seen in the previous chapter, where he encourages quoting from them. Throughout that year, *Roderick Hudson* was also being serialised. In Chapter VIII of the novel Rowland Mallet cannot sleep in his Florentine room because he is thinking about Mary Garland and "his sentiment apparently belonged to that species of emotion of which, by the testimony of the poets, the very name and essence is oddity" (*N* 1: 370). One of those poets is no doubt Dante given the setting and love theme, the other is even more certainly Virgil as there is a little later within the same paragraph a direct quotation from the *Aeneid*. Rowland foresees Roderick's demise as "the *descensus Averno*" (371), "descent into [Lake] Avernus," the moment in the sixth book of the epic (line 126) before Aeneas famously descends into the underworld. What is more, in his travel essay about Etretat the following year (1876), James describes a scene at the beach there as

making one fancy that Eugène Delacroix's great picture of Dante and Virgil on the Styx, with the damned trying to scramble into Charon's bark, has been repainted as a scene on one of the streams of Paradise" (*CTW* 2: 695).

As seen in the episode from "The Madonna of the Future" mentioned above, James seems to have had *The Divine Comedy* in mind around the former half of the 1870s, inserting himself into the classical tradition through the use of Virgil much in the same manner as Dante did.<sup>7</sup>

In letters written from London in November 1875 to his parents (*CLHJ* 1872-6 3: 4, 6, 10, 26, 30, 39, 114) and one in 1877 to his sister (*1876-8* 1: 96), the reader learns that the Jameses had a dog called Dido. It is possible the domestic presence of the Queen of Carthage's name would have kept the *Aeneid* firmly in Henry's consciousness, at least

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<sup>7</sup> Poole has noted, furthermore, how the New York Edition (1907-9) contains an extra reference to the underworld that previous editions do not (90 n.4).

while he was in America from September 1874 to October 1875 during which time he was writing *Roderick Hudson*.<sup>8</sup>

In the sixth scene of the third act of *Daisy Miller* (1882), Winterbourne asks Mme. de Katkoff whether she has “forgotten our moonlight drive through the streets of Rome, with its rich confusion of ancient memories and new-born hopes?” (CP 170). It is difficult not to equate this passage with the famous pageant of Roman heroes in Book VI of the *Aeneid* (lines 679-892), where in the dark underworld Anchises’s shade introduces his son Aeneas to the “future” Romans of the history of the city that is yet to be founded.

The next Virgilianism does not appear until 1884, in a letter to his brother William written in 21 April. He describes the Easter he spent with some friends of the family as “[h]aec olim meminisse iuvat” (HJL 3: 40), “this hereafter will be a pleasure to recall,” line 203 from the first book of the epic. There does not seem to be any particular reason for quoting from the poet at that point except for the possibility that James remembered that the day he was composing the letter was also the foundation day of Rome. Presumably, he may also be invoking a classical culture that he knows and shares with his brother, and that ran in the family, as seen in their dog’s name. If so, to have Virgil act as the representative of this little tribute is a testament of the deep regard that James has for the Roman and his country.

The next instance of the Roman poet occurs in Chapter 29 of *The Princess Casamassima* (1885-6) where Christina Light would like to prevent Hyacinth Robinson from participating in an assassination plot by wrapping a cloud of invisibility around him in order to distance him from the terrorists with whom he is associated “as the goddess-

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<sup>8</sup> The pet was with the family at least from 1875 (W. James *Correspondence* 1: 243, 250) to 1884 (5: 509, 515, 570; 9: 35).

mother of the Trojan hero used, in Virgil's poem, to *escamoter* ["make away with, whisk away" (*N* 3: 1285)] Aeneas" (341). This fog image from *Aeneid* I.411-593 originally comes from Homer's *Iliad* V.<sup>9</sup> It appears on several other occasions throughout James's career and almost exclusively in his novels.<sup>10</sup>

The fact that this image rarely occurs in his tales, suggests that there lies an epic strain in the Jamesian novel. E. M. W. Tillyard, however, author of *The Epic Strain in the English Novel* (1958), includes a section in his argumentative and controversial study about how James does not enter this tradition (121-5). Tillyard's question-begging definition of epic denotes literary works that contain a communal or choric quality (14-7), thus not qualifying Jamesian novels because they are deemed too personal. Of course, there are better descriptions of epic than merely "express[ing] the feelings of a large group of people living in or near his [the epic writer's] own time" (15), a definition that does not even fit Homer's *Odyssey* very well! *The Ambassadors*, in which one of these images appears, is both personal and public, as will be demonstrated. In the meantime, it seems clear from the evidence produced thus far (along with much more to come) that when writing his longer pieces James did in fact have epic poets on his mind, including Virgil but not limited to him, such as Homer and Dante.

In Chapter XII of the second volume of *The Tragic Muse* (1889-90), Miriam Rooth tells Nick Dormer about how his cousin Peter Sherringham bought the rights to the play in which she performs. At this benefaction Nick believes that Miriam is taking Peter for granted, thinking, "*Sic vos non vobis*" (*N* 3: 991), "Thus you do, but not for yourselves." This incomplete line was written by Virgil to challenge the poet Bathyllus, who claimed a

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<sup>9</sup> Lines 185-6, 344-5 and 775-6; see also 863-6.

<sup>10</sup> *N* 1: 98, 243; 2: 225; 4: 805; 5: 642; 6: 198, 970; *CS* 5: 748. The first citation is Homeric, while the others can be either Homeric or Virgilian.

Virgilian couplet for the emperor Augustus as his own. When Bathyllus could not complete it, Virgil did, exposing the former poet to public ridicule. This anecdote is told in an interpolation of the *Vitae Vergilianae*, sometimes attributed to Aelius Donatus (4<sup>th</sup> cen. AD) and placed between sections 46 and 47, and is therefore of very dubious ancient origin. The Latin phrase is usually used of people who profit from others' labors. Despite its non-classical origin and proverbial status, its Virgilian connection is still significant because, as this survey continues to demonstrate, James had a constant interest in the poet throughout his career.

"The Middle Years" (1893) is perhaps James's most Virgilian tale of all. The protagonist is a low-key, sick and dying writer of fiction called Dencombe, whose personality traits are very reminiscent of those of the Roman poet. His name is a compound formed from the words "den" and "combe," of which the latter may refer to Honeycombe beach in Bournemouth, where the short story is set. That Bournemouth is a seaside resort that might recall Naples, where Virgil wrote his *Georgics* and the *Aeneid*. The fourth book of *Georgics*, furthermore, is devoted to bee-keeping, a reference back to Honeycombe. The first part of Dencombe's name, in the meantime, may allude to the cave where Aeneas and Dido made love:

*speluncam Dido dux et Troianus eandem  
deueniunt. (Aen. IV.165-6)*  
[At the same cavern Dido and the Trojan leader  
arrived.]

What is more, Dencombe, who is staying at a hotel with a garden (CS 4: 335) and all its accompanying pastoral connotations,

lived once more into his story and was drawn down, as by a siren's hand, to where, in the dim underworld of fiction, the great glazed tank of art, strange silent subjects float" (337-8).

Although the notion that sirens dwell in Hades comes from Euripides' *Helen* (lines 168-78), the association goes as far back as Homer. After his own descent into Hades (Hom. *Od.* XI.20-635), Odysseus is the only person ever to have survived listening to the sirens' song (XII.37-200),<sup>11</sup> one of whom is Parthenope. According to legend (Coleman 147-8, 209-10), this siren was washed up on the shores of the Bay of Naples after throwing herself into the sea because of her inability to bewitch the Greek hero, thus lending her name to one of the settlements there, all of which eventually merged to become collectively known as Neapolis or "New City," the modern Naples. Virgil was the first to personify the area as Parthenope in the very last lines of his *Georgics* (IV.563-4), having settled there to study philosophy (*Catal.* V). The katabasis of *Aeneid* VI also begins near the Gulf of Naples at Cumae where the Sibyl becomes Aeneas's guide. For Dencombe, then, as both author and protagonist, like Virgil and Aeneas, Bournemouth may be his Neapolis.

But the classical references, especially to Virgil, do not end here. In the next paragraph, the widowed (CS 4: 343) Countess is presented as an "opulent matron" (339), a *matrona* in Latin being a married woman. Doctor Hugh, the countess's love interest, believes that Dencombe, although a novelist, was "more essentially a poet than many of those who went in for verse" (343). In fact, Dencombe is just as fastidious as Virgil (Donat. *Vit. Verg.* XXI-XXIV) with his compositions, for he "was a passionate corrector, a fingerer of style" (CS 4: 344), while also falling sick in "the heat of the sun," as happened to the Roman in Greece (Donat. *Vit. Verg.* XXXV). As the health of this prose writer of epic proportions worsens, he wonders, "how was he to bribe such fates to give him the second chance?" (346). In other words, Dencombe is considering how to ask the Greek Moirai, or Roman Parcae, to start a new life that would incorporate all that he has learned in his first

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<sup>11</sup> Homer describes the sirens as being "honey-voiced" (*Od.* XII.187).

one so that he could create truly great art.<sup>12</sup> When Doctor Hugh professes to prefer his “flowers, then, to other people’s fruit” (347), he seems to be alluding to the pastoralism of the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*. He also wants to spend more time with the artist discussing literature rather than being with the Countess, while “[l]onging equally for virtue, Dencombe replied that in that golden age no patient would pretend to have contracted with him for his whole attention” (349). Nevertheless, during their conversation, the writer reveals, were he to be given another chance at life, the art he would produce “– the precious metals he would dig from the mine, the jewels rare, strings of pearls, he would hang between the columns of his temple” (350). As seen with “Daisy Miller,” golden age imagery can refer not just to classical legend but ancient Augustan literature and the high standard that James, through Dencombe in this case, is attempting to achieve from what he has learned so far in his own life and career.

In an entry on this story in one of his notebooks, James so much as expresses this very idea: “he [Dencombe] has put into his things the love of perfection and that they will live by that” (CN 68). It should be noted that one of the hallmarks of classicism, of course, is its pursuit for perfection, a notion that was not lost to James whose Brother in “The Great Good Place” describes the utopian realm that he and George Dane are experiencing as ““so perfect that it’s open to as many interpretations as any other great work – a poem of Goethe, *a dialogue of Plato*, a symphony of Beethoven”” (CS 5: 173; my emphasis). In the end, Howard Pearce places this particular story in the pastoral tradition (838) of which Virgil is one the most prominent representatives.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Kventsel sees these Fates in *The Wings of the Dove* (72).

<sup>13</sup> “The Middle Years” also includes the phrase “diligence *vincit omnia*” (CS 4: 338), which may come from Virgil’s tenth *Eclogue*: *omnia vincit Amor* (line 69), “love conquers all,” but it is proverbial. “A Few Other Roman Neighbourhoods” (1909) contains another possible Virgilian proverb, “Fortune, in the event, had

“The Figure in the Carpet” was published in early 1896 and contains a quotation from the *Aeneid*. As Bruce Fogelman noted (71), the “secret” (CS 4: 573) “for the critic [the narrator] to find” (579) “like a complex figure in a Persian carpet” (586) is affirmed by Gwendolen Erme from a cryptic telegram sent to her by her fiancée George Corvick from India before she can confirm it herself: ““Know it’s the real thing? Oh, I’m sure when you see it you do know. *Vera incessu patuit dea!*”” (592). The Latin here for “the true goddess is revealed by her walk” comes from line 405 in the first book of the Roman epic where Aeneas discovers that his interlocutress is his mother Venus. This quotation has prompted comments from several readers.<sup>14</sup> One observes that many of the key words in the story, such as Vereker, Vishnu, Vandyke and Velasquez, begin with the letter V, including Virgil, all of which – he argues – refer to the vulva as being the figure in the carpet (Lock 157, 169, 172).

The following year in his *London Notes* (1897), James comments on a lecture he attended at Oxford about Gustave Flaubert given by Paul Bourget. He criticizes the academic world for not making clearer the role of the classics in modern literature. Dividing the discipline into its traditional Greek and Roman halves, he articulates that this problem “leads at times to queer conjunctions, strange collocations in which Euripides gives an arm to Sarah Grand and Octave Feuillet harks back to Virgil” (LC 1: 1410). That Virgil represents for him the Latin half of the ancient literary tradition further demonstrates the degree to which James reveres the poet.

The poetics of “The Turn of the Screw” (1898) have already been briefly mentioned in a footnote in the previous chapter of this dissertation. The ninth chapter of the novella

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never favoured my going [to Monte Cassino and to Subiaco]” (CTW 2: 487-8), from *Aeneid* X.284, *audentis Fortuna iuvat*, “Fortune favours the brave.”

<sup>14</sup> Albers (205-6, 225, 234) summarises them.

becomes more specifically Augustan when one quiet evening the governess decides to read Henry Fielding's *Amelia* (CS 4: 682), which according to the 18<sup>th</sup> century novelist himself contains connections to the epics of Homer and even more so Virgil (*The Covent-Garden Journal* 186). This statement confirms why *Amelia* is divided into twelve books and has quotations from the *Aeneid* throughout (L. H. Powers "The Influence of the *Aeneid* on Fielding's *Amelia*" 330-6). James uses this novel because in its tenth book the aptly named Colonel James pursues Mrs. Bennet thinking she is Amelia just as Turnus chases after the phantom he believes to be Aeneas in the corresponding tenth book of the epic (lines 636-88). Similarly, if the introduction of "The Turn of the Screw" is included in the following total, the governess reads *Amelia* in the tenth section of the novella where she hurries down the staircase only to bump into the ghost (or what she believes to be the ghost) of Peter Quint (CS 4: 682-3). Finally, "The Turn of the Screw" is divided into 24 numbered sections (not including the preface), corresponding to the number of books in each of the Homeric epics.

As Edel and Tintner (81) duly noted, Virgil is also invoked in *The Awkward Age* (1898-9). While Mitchy is waiting for Mrs. Brookenham in Chapter 34 of Book Ninth, he listens to Mr. Longdon talk about his travels, namely "the Virgilian associations of the Bay of Naples" (N 4: 963). This topic is not surprising from someone of the English upper-middle class or, as Mitchy puts it, one who "belong[s] to a circle in which most of the members might be at any moment on the other side of the globe." Use of the Roman poet in this instance demonstrates once more the high degree of culture attributed to the character. The connection with Naples in particular is interesting because James was planning a trip there in 1899, when the novel was written, indeed returning to it the next year.

Before he did so, however, he stopped at the Le Plantier estate in Costebelle, Hyères in southern France in April of 1899. Here he wrote to his brother William that the scenery



is “classic – Claude – Virgil” (*HJL* 4: 101) as if in anticipation of arriving at Naples. The combination of the visual – i.e., Claude Lorrain, a 17<sup>th</sup> century painter of classical landscapes much admired by 18<sup>th</sup> century landscape-gardeners and poets as embodying Virgilian serenity – and the textually classical is noteworthy, for this seems to be how James oftentimes thought of antiquity.

In *The Sacred Fount* (1901), Virgil continues to symbolize sophistication. When characterizing Lady John, Mrs. Brissenden begins by describing her “as pointed as a hat-pin” (*N* 5: 11). The narrator soon notices that Lady John possesses qualities of both banality and high culture qualifying the dichotomy by drawing the following image in the reader’s mind: “She was like a hat – with one of Mrs. Briss[enden]’s hat-pins – askew on the bust of Virgil” (12). The Latin writer here serves as an extreme counterweight to Mrs. Brissenden’s throwaway comment together creating an almost surreal, and certainly comic, image that displays the qualitative extremities of culture and therefore, again, a testament to the large degree of respect that James has for Virgil.

Two years later, “The Beast in the Jungle” (1903) appeared with associations to the *Aeneid*. As Bruce Fogelman observes, James adopts the setting, theme and other episodes from Virgil’s poem (68-71). Even more telling for the purpose of this chapter is the date and moral of this tale in relation to *The Ambassadors*. Both short story and novel were written at the same time and contain the theme of *carpe diem*. In fact, it has been argued that the tale is a precursor to the novel (Crowley). As a result, these observations make it abundantly clear that James certainly had Virgil and Horace on his mind in the very early 20<sup>th</sup> century, if not most – or even all – of the time.

In the third part of the essay *Manners of American Women* (1907) modern contemporary American manners are criticized as being like “*rari nantes in gurgite vasto*”

(*HJC* 99), “swimmers scattered in a vast whirlpool,” line 118 of *Aeneid* I. The quotation reappears two years later in the tale “Crapy Cornelia” (*CS* 5: 830), prompting Robert L. Gale to observe that it is the longest classical quotation in all of James (115 n.27). The next, unquoted, line of the poem, *arma uirum tabulaeque et Troia gaza per undas*, “with men’s weapons, boards and treasure from Troy amongst the waves,” is significant as well. Tintner believes that the *tabulae* may be the photographs around Cornelia Rasch’s room which remind White-Mason and his hostess of their shared past (*Museum* 193-4; *Pop* 142). Along with those pictures, the *tabulae* can also include other objects such as the “little old Twelfth-Street *table* that piously preserved the plain mahogany circle” in the very first sentence of the last chapter.<sup>15</sup> This pious table incorporates one of the major themes of the *Aeneid*, *pietas* (in the original Roman sense of duty as opposed to the English one of piety), influencing White-Mason’s decision not to propose to the younger Mrs. Worthingham but rather to keep the older Cornelia company instead. Tintner also suggests that Cornelia’s apartment being so close to the River Hudson reminds White-Mason “of what the waters of the Mediterranean had been for Aeneas” (*The Twentieth-Century World of Henry James* 26). Furthermore, White-Mason’s decision to leave the bright and fast world of Mrs. Worthington for the dark and slow one of Cornelia is like Aeneas descending into the underworld in Book VI (*Museum* 193-4). In addition to other associations with the *Aeneid*, Tintner demonstrates how the short story is further Virgilian by pointing out the use of Arcadia,<sup>16</sup> the famous paradise of the *Eclogues*. Edel (*HJL* 4: xxviii) and Marius Bewley (243-4), too, note the pastoral imagery in the tale, which further reminds the latter of *The Europeans* (1878).

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<sup>15</sup> *CS* 5: 839; the etymology of “table” comes from *tabula*, hence my emphasis.

<sup>16</sup> *Museum* 193, *Pop* 143; *Twentieth-Century* 25-6; *CS* 5: 837.

The penultimate fictional reference to Virgil is in the original, dramatised version of *The Outcry* (December 1909), where Lord Theign possesses a very rare painting from a certain Mantovano (CP 776-7). Mantovano is the Italian for Mantuan, the adjective of the city whence Virgil hails (*Donat. Vit. Verg.* I-II). As Edel points out (CP 776), it is also the appellation that Lord Alfred Tennyson gives the Roman poet in his ode *To Virgil*: “I salute thee, Mantovano” (line 19), and Norman Vance notes the same of Dante in the *Purgatorio* VI.72-4 and VII.86 (*Victorians* 153). In order to communicate to the reader the extremely high value of Theign’s possession, James employs the Horatian *ut pictura poesis* analogy by equating the picture to Virgil, the greatest of Latin artists, literary and otherwise. There are, furthermore, only seven known paintings from this fictional Mantovano, the same as the number of Aeneas’s ships that make landfall in Africa (*Aen.* I.170, 193-4, 381-3), years that the hero roams the Mediterranean Sea (lines 755-6), hills in Rome and kings in its regal period.

There is an amusing anecdote connected to the novel version of *The Outcry* (1911) published a year later. A reader, Robert C. Witt, brought to James’s attention that there was indeed a sixteenth century painter from Mantua named Rinaldo Mantovano, two of whose works were on display at the National Gallery in London. On 27 November 1912 James responded by thanking Witt for pointing the fact out, admitting that the artist “was a creature of mere (convincing) fancy” and not based on the actual painter (*HJL* 4: 640-1). The reply is virtual confirmation that the fictional artist in the novel was originally based on Virgil.

In the notes to *The Ivory Tower* written in January of 1910, Anne “Nan” Drabney (CN 257) “is responsive partly as she would be under the sting of the *spretae injuria formae*” (265). This is an edited quotation from line 27 of the first book of the *Aeneid*, the

full phrase being *spretaeque iniuria formae* (my emphasis), “and the injustice of her scorned beauty,” when Juno lost the Judgement of Paris to Venus, one of the causes of the Trojan War. The Latin also appears two years later, when writing Edmund Gosse about a story by Maupassant, where James comments that one of characters killed himself “through the *spretae iniuria formae*” (*HJL* 4: 633). This is the latest Virgilian reference in the whole of the Jamesian canon.

The last imaginative use of the poet, however, has been spotted by Martin and Ober, who see “A Round of Visits” (April-May 1910) as set in a Dantesque world mirroring the medieval poet’s *Divine Comedy*. Mrs. Folliot, for instance, is in the first circle of Hell occupied by the lustful, and Winch’s sister-in-law resembles Beatrice, while the doctor represents Virgil (“Dantesque Patterns in Henry James’s ‘A Round of Visits’” 48).

From this survey, then, James’s use of Virgil stresses the recurring emphasis of two broadly related strands of influence: the pastoral (*Eclogues* and *Georgics*) and the imperial (*Aeneid*). Both are present in *The Ambassadors*; yet, whereas the former has already been the subject of some scholarship,<sup>17</sup> the latter has received less attention.

#### *Classical References in The Ambassadors*

Outside of the pastoral tradition, there has been very little scholarship done on the classicism of *The Ambassadors*. Tintner, for one, argues that the phrase “the sacred rage,” referring pejoratively to the materialist act of shopping, which is repeated eight times (*N* 6: 52 [twice], 53, 136, 196 [twice], 337 [twice]), comes from *The Bacchae* of Euripides (*Pop*

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<sup>17</sup> Wilson’s doctoral dissertation *Into the vales of Arcady: Henry James and the pastoral tradition* does a fine job of incorporating all the scholarship on this topic until the early-1990s demonstrating quite convincingly how pastoral, and often in Virgilian terms, James truly was. For *The Ambassadors* specifically, see Tintner *Museum* 112-21, *The Book World of Henry James* 304; Wolf 230-1; Labarthe-Postel 68-72; Kventsel 51.

130-3).<sup>18</sup> José Antonio Álvarez Amorós, in the meantime, gives examples of the classical rhetorical devices in the novel (42, 56, 58-9).

Elizabeth Powers goes completely against the grain in 2008 by arguing that *The Ambassadors* is the first Modernist work and therefore devoid of tradition. To support her theory, she compares the novel with *William Wetmore Story and Friends*, which was published in the same year. According to her, in the novel Europe seems more progressive than the United States, while the biography shows how the American Story's sculpture is dated. Together both books introduce the idea of a decline in traditional (i.e., Neoclassical) values in art. There are two problems with this argument, however. The first is that Powers does not take into consideration the pastoral, and specifically Virgilian, strain. The second is that even the Modernists, as Kenneth Haynes (101-14) recently showed in his chapter "Modernism" in *A Companion to the Classical Tradition* (2007), were reacting to the ancient classics, James Joyce's *Ulysses* (1918-20) being the most obvious example.<sup>19</sup> In fact, Theodore Ziolkowski in his study *Virgil and the Moderns* (1993) demonstrates the especially large role that the Roman poet played in the Modernist movement. Therefore, at the very least, James cannot be considered a true Modernist, but rather a sort of proto-Modernist who experimented with some new techniques, such as the stream of consciousness, while at the same time never abandoning his classical sympathies.

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<sup>18</sup> Strether also goes to the theater (*N* 6: 53-70, 90, 351), had gone so with Mrs. Newsome in Boston (53-4), visits the Odéon in Paris (84), mentions Shakespeare's *Antony & Cleopatra* (198), and even refers to his trip at one point as if it were a curtain dropping (83), a play (229, 325, 352, 379), a drama (270, 300, 310) and a performance (387). In fact, in the preface, James even describes the novel in dramatic terms, writing how Maria Gostrey, in a more classical sense, is wearing a mask (16, also *LC* 2: 1317) as Greek actors did. All this evidence further supports Tintner's association with Euripidean tragedy, while Kventsel too has noted Greek tragic traits (51-5), but does so by comparing the book to Sophocles's *Oedipus Rex* (54). James had already written 11 plays by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (1869-95), when he had just ended the more prolific, albeit disastrous, part of his playwriting career, after which he nonetheless picked up six more times from 1907 to 1913. Thus, he would presumably still have had theater on his mind at the time of the writing of *The Ambassadors*.

<sup>19</sup> 103, 105-6; in the same book, see also Jenkyns "United Kingdom" 278 and C. Martindale "Reception" 310.

One Latin quotation in *The Ambassadors*, “*panem et circenses*” (N 6: 146), is the proverbial phrase from Juvenal (X.81). Another Romanism can be found in the first chapter of Book Fourth where Strether’s very mission to Chad seems “that bringing me home in triumph as a sort of wedding-present to Mother would commemorate it better than anything else” (N 6: 119), just as many generals would parade their captive enemies through Rome. But the greatest Roman presence in the novel by far is the *Aeneid*, the focus for the remainder of this chapter.

### *Structure*

Reuben A. Brower (274), when analyzing how Neptune calmed the storm in Book I of the *Aeneid* (lines 124-56), advises that “[t]o read this narrative properly demands, in Henry James’ phrase, ‘a sharper survey of the elements of Appearance’.” This quotation comes from the very first chapter of *The Ambassadors* when Strether experiences an introspective moment while acclimatizing to Europe, having just arrived (N 6: 27). Despite this rare connection in literary scholarship between both works, there is unfortunately no direct correlation between either scene, only Brower’s borrowing of a useful turn of phrase from James to illustrate his own particular point.

More significantly, Tintner claims that all Jamesian references to the *Aeneid* come only from Books I and VI, since those were usually the two sections of the poem included in most school curricula (*Museum* 192-3). It is tempting to agree with her strictly based on the Latin quotations found in his works, but there is evidence of his knowledge of the rest of the epic, even if it means that he may have read it translation. *The Ambassadors* becomes particularly revealing in this case.

Perhaps the most obvious analogy between the *Aeneid* and *The Ambassadors* may be found in their structure whereby both works are divided into twelve books. (Perl 173;

Hocks *Ambassadors* 92). This is not the first attempt in American literature as Captain John Smith organized *The Proceedings of the English Colonie in Virginia* (1612) in as many books describing Europeans sailing under divine guidance and settling in a land half welcoming, half not. Wolf has also noticed that *The Ambassadors* contains epic qualities comparing it at one point to *Paradise Lost* (29-32).<sup>20</sup> Norman Vance notes how John Milton's poem, along with Tennyson's *Idylls of the King*, is divided into twelve books (*Victorians* 151); and James owned copies of both British works in his personal library (Edel and Tintner 49, 60-1).

But *The Ambassadors* is more Virgilian because unlike *Paradise Lost* and the *Idylls of the King* the story of the novel can be divided into two equal halves like the Roman epic. *Paradise Lost* has two plots of which the second about Adam and Eve begins in Book IV; Milton also re-divided his poem from ten to twelve books only in his second edition. As for Tennyson, his "*Idylls* are a series of episodes, not a continuous epic, written over a long period and only retrospectively grouped into twelve books like the *Aeneid* and *Paradise Lost*" (N. Vance *Victorians* 151). *The Ambassadors*, on the other hand, is very symmetrical – albeit in an inverted way – in that the first six books are about Strether on his mission to bring Chadwick Newsome back to America, while the last six recount the former's realization that European life is in fact good when the latter finally decides to return after all (Kventsel 31), what Michael Seidel calls first the "Comic Mission" (140) and then the "Epic Salvation" (141).

E. M. Forster writes that the novel takes "the shape of an hour-glass" (140, 146, 149), using such words as "symmetry" (141) and "geometric" (148) to describe it while

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<sup>20</sup> Tintner also sees *Paradise Lost* in *The Wings of the Dove* as well as *Paradise Regained* in *The Golden Bowl* (Book 58-67), the other two major novels of James's late phase.

comparing it to a Procrustean bed (149) with a “rigid pattern” (150). Edel uses similar language to describe James’s late phase in general (*CP* 64). Wolf makes an interesting observation in this respect too when comparing *The Ambassadors* to Barbizon painting. He believes that “the aesthetic gesture that distinguishes his late narratives as patternings [sic] of thought” (320) are symmetrical, based (among other sources of evidence) primarily on a quotation from “Self-Reliance” that James scribbled on the inside cover of his copy of Emerson’s *Essays* (1885):

In this pleasing, contrite wood-life which God allows me, let me record day by day my honest thought without prospect or retrospect, and, I cannot doubt, it will be found symmetrical, though I mean it not, and see it not.

Symmetry was thus very important to James as can be seen through George Stransom, the protagonist of “The Altar of the Dead,” who believes that “[s]ymmetry was harmony, and the idea of harmony began to haunt him; he said to himself that harmony was of course everything” (*CS* 4: 482).<sup>21</sup> Donald R. Burleson sees this tale being divided neatly into nine sections, along with the imagery and its subjects, forming a symmetrical whole much like the shaped poem of George Herbert’s *The Altar*.<sup>22</sup> Various scholars have also noted symmetry in the plots of “The Wheel of Time,”<sup>23</sup> “The Next Time” (Shulman 43) and

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<sup>21</sup> It can also be seen, albeit to a lesser extent, through Fanny Assingham who “had fallen in love with the beautiful symmetry of my plan” (*N* 6: 719) when referring to her encouragement of the Prince’s marriage to Maggie in *The Golden Bowl*, a novel which contains many references to ancient Rome as the next chapter will demonstrate. Maggie, whose husband is Roman, also has a “small still passion for order and symmetry” (836), which may explain part of her attraction to the Prince. Finally, Maggie’s father, a great collector, has a gallery which one day “after the invading wave was spent the cabinets were all locked and the symmetries all restored” (928).

<sup>22</sup> For more comments on symmetry in “The Altar of the Dead,” see Vaid 217-22, 227 n.5. Ward, in addition to this tale (220-1), discusses the issue of symmetry in James’s fiction in general (4, 6-7, 10-11, 15, 19, 62, 85, 218) and in the following novels in particular: *Watch and Ward* (74-5; see also *N* 1: 26 for Nora Lambert’s lack of “[p]rettiness and symmetry” and 69 for that prettiness being “a sovereign pity it should not be rounded into blissful symmetry”); *The Princess Casamassima* (120-2), *What Masie Knew* (8, 146-7, 154-63), *The Wings of the Dove* (170-1, 192, 197), and *The Golden Bowl* (203, 205-8, 215). Christopher Newman of *The American*, furthermore, “had a very well-formed head, with a shapely, symmetrical balance of the frontal and the occipital development” (*N* 1: 516).

<sup>23</sup> See Albers 944-5 for a convenient summary of the literature on this topic.



“The Way It Came”/“The Friends of the Friends” (Cesarini 612). Until the bitter end, as can be seen in the notes to his unfinished novel *The Ivory Tower* in the summer of 1914, the Master always tried to find “the very essence of my cherished symmetry and ‘unity’” (CN 498) when organizing a plot.

Similarly, the first six books of the *Aeneid* are dedicated to telling the tale of Aeneas’s voyage to Italy, while the second half is about the war in Italy. This organization is sometimes broadly characterized as *Odyssey*-derived and then *Iliad*-derived, the story of an individual hero and then a more generalized military conflict, the [*a*]rma uirumque, “arms and man,” the very first words of the poem. An extreme study of the *Aeneid* in this vein, “Mathematical Symmetry in Vergil’s *Aeneid*” by George E. Duckworth, takes this structural analysis to its logical conclusion by demonstrating precise numerical divisions revealing interesting narrative patterns of not just the books but the verses as well.<sup>24</sup> One of the major characteristics of classical culture is its strong sense of balance and order, a quality that James completely internalized from an early age as evidenced by the following passage in his travel essay “Niagara” (1871):

The genius who invented it [Niagara Falls] was certainly the first author of the idea that order, proportion and symmetry are the conditions of perfect beauty. He applied his faith among the watching and listening forests, long before the Greeks proclaimed theirs in the measurements of the Parthenon. (CTW 1: 782)

This ideal wholly manifests itself not only in *The Ambassadors*, which he regarded “as, frankly, quite the best, ‘all round,’ of all my productions” (N 6: 5),<sup>25</sup> but in most of his art. Tzvetan Todorov (and to lesser extent Tyler in “The Child as ‘The Figure in the Carpet’” 37), like Forster, albeit more positively, also notes how symmetrical James’s writings are,

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<sup>24</sup> For symmetry in the *Eclogues*, see Skutsch; for it in Horace’s *Odes*, see Collinge 80-2.

<sup>25</sup> There is even a writer in Louis Auchincloss’s *The Partners* (1974), Leslie Carter, who longs to write “a novel as perfect as ... *The Ambassadors*” (155).

using in his analysis “The Private Life” as a “perfect” example (169-71). According to a ninety-page typescript of *The Ambassadors* sent to Harper & Brothers in New York during the fall of 1900 entitled *Project of Novel*, James was aiming to divide his novel into 12 books, each containing two chapters (CN 575-6; the finished product now has a total of 36 chapters distributed unevenly throughout). It seems, then, that his original conception for the novel would have been even more epic structurally as it would have totaled to 24 sections, the same number of books as each of Homer’s poems.

The books of the *Aeneid* and *The Ambassadors*, furthermore, contain corresponding events. For instance, in Book Second of the novel Strether reveals his mission to Maria Gostrey in much the same way as Aeneas in Books II and III tells Dido what has gone before his landing in Carthage. In Book Fourth, Strether writes a letter to Mrs. Newsome describing his task in military terms (N 6: 127), no doubt a foreshadowing of his confrontations with Sarah Pocock in the latter half of the novel, which runs parallel to the Latin war in the *Aeneid* VII-XII. Inversely, but just as intentionally, the reader does not meet Marie de Vionnet, Chad’s love interest, until Book Fifth, just as Dido occupies only the first four of the epic (at least while she is alive). Such precise patterns are further evidence that *The Ambassadors* is structured symmetrically along the lines of the *Aeneid*.

Ironically, there is a famous mistake in the publication history of *The Ambassadors* that makes it resemble the *Aeneid* even more. The first century AD grammarian Nisus recounts how Lucius Varius Rufus inverted Books II and III of the *Aeneid* (Donat. *Vit. Verg.* 42), but this anecdote is almost certainly false (O’Hara 98). James similarly (and apparently accidentally) placed Chapter 29 of *The Ambassadors* before 28 in the first book edition of the novel, and never corrected it supposedly because he did not notice the mistake (N 6: 1180-1). It is interesting to hypothesize whether this “error” was purposefully made,

considering its connections to the epic, in order to associate both works even more closely with each other. This joke would not be inconsistent with James's sense of humor for he played with his other works of fiction such as "Pandora" in which Otto Vogelstein reads "Daisy Miller" (*CS* 2: 821-5; *LC* 2: 1271-2) and "The Velvet Glove" which can be read as an "in-joke" between James and his friend Edith Wharton (Blackall). Thus, in terms of structure, the *Aeneid* and *The Ambassadors* resemble each other because they contain the same number of books (which, furthermore, tend to correspond in content), are symmetrical and have an anecdotal inversion of sections.

*Translatio imperii et studii*

Before continuing to the next similarity, the concept of *translatio imperii et studii*, the "transfer of power and knowledge," briefly introduced in the previous chapter, needs to be explained more fully in order to understand how the plot of *The Ambassadors* and the characters in it move. In short, they do so westward.

The first idea of one empire transferring its political authority and wisdom onto the next can be found in the biblical story of the Four Kingdoms (Daniel II.21-43) written c. 165 BC. One of its most popular interpretations came from St. Jerome's *Commentary on Daniel* (verses 31-40) c. AD 407, in which the kingdoms were identified as Babylonia, Persia, Greece and Rome, hence the westward trajectory. In the Middle Ages some western authors connected this imperial trend to their own countries. In England, for instance, the bibliophile Richard de Bury described it at the end of the ninth chapter of his *Philobiblon* (1345), "Love of Books," as follows:

Admirable Minerva [Greek Athena] seems to bend her course to all the nations of the earth, and reacheth from end to end mightily, that she may reveal herself to all mankind. We see that she has already visited the Indians, the Babylonians, the Egyptians and Greeks, the Arabs and the Romans. Now she has passed by Paris, and now has happily come to Britain, the most noble of islands, nay, rather a

microcosm in itself, that she may show herself a debtor both to the Greeks and to the Barbarians. At which wondrous sight it is conceived by most men, that as philosophy is now lukewarm in France, so her soldiery are unmanned and languishing. (52)

The United States became the next stop in 1726 when Irish-American Bishop George Berkeley penned the poem “Verses on the Prospect of Planting Art and Learning in America” in which line 21 famously reads, “Westward the course of empire takes its way.” German-American history painter Emanuel Gottlieb Leutze used this verse as the title for his painting of 1861 representing Manifest Destiny. In 1887, Henry James knew Montgomery Schuyler whose sketches for the *Sun* and the *New York Times* became *Westward the Course of Empire* in 1906 (CN 35). At London, the capital of the British empire, the following year, while observing a statue of Queen Anne, under whom England and Scotland united in 1707 to become the Kingdom of Great Britain, James could sense this notion: “All history appeared to live again, and the continuity of things to vibrate through my mind” (CTW 1: 16). By the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century *translatio imperii et studii* was a plain fact for contemporary Americans. As Brooks Adams writes in *The New Empire* (1902), published by Macmillan in New York merely one year before *The Ambassadors* was: “[t]he seat of energy has migrated from Europe to America” (xi).

### *Characterisation & Plot*

The characters of *The Ambassadors* resemble many of those that populate the *Aeneid*, thus contributing to a similarity in plot as well, an observation that has not escaped the notice of readers. The first such study, in 1995, was conducted by Wolf in his doctoral dissertation *Unnatural Questions* where he compares *The Ambassadors* to such epics as the *Odyssey*, *Aeneid*, *Divine Comedy* and *Paradise Lost*. One of his comparisons shows how

the novel imitates the sixth book of the Roman poem in two main ways. The first is the manner in which the protagonists in both works enter an otherworld: Aeneas the underworld, and Strether Europe (85-90). The second likens Maria Gostrey (90-3) and later Madame de Vionnet (131-2) to the Cumaean Sybil, who guide Strether, like Aeneas, through his journey.<sup>26</sup> In other words, for Wolf, the novel is an American retelling of *Aeneid* VI whereby the tourist learns more about himself once outside America, as Aeneas learns more about his destiny after he escapes from Troy.

In 1997, Adrian Poole saw both Strether (88-9) and Chad (87-8) embody some characteristics of Aeneas at different points in the narrative, while Dido is played by Madame de Vionnet (84-5) who harbors feelings for both Chad (as a lover) and Strether (as a friend). Furthermore, Chapters 1 and 2 of the last book of *The Ambassadors* remind Poole of the famous encounter in the underworld between Aeneas and Dido's shade (87-8). In this reading, Poole seems to agree with Wolf that the entire novel is based exclusively on the sixth book of the *Aeneid*. Anna Kventsel, on the other hand, sees the rapport between Strether and Vionnet as more closely resembling that of Aeneas and Dido when she was alive in Book IV of the epic (33, 214 n.9).

Further evidence of the influence of *Aeneid* VI can be found in the first chapter of Book Fifth. During a conversation John Little Bilham explains that at Gloriani's garden there is little talk of politics, thus putting "us all back – into the last century" (N 6: 151). Strether, not being an artist like Bilham or Gloriani replies that "I'm afraid ... that it puts me rather forward: oh ever so far!" When his interlocutor then asks, "Into the next? But isn't that only ... because you're really of the century before?" the famous interplay

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<sup>26</sup> Hepburn reiterates this connection in 1998 by claiming that Maria is Strether's cicerone, much as Virgil was Dante's (38).

between the past and the future of Roman history in Book VI of the epic resurfaces in the novel, as it did in *Daisy Miller*.

A final reference to Aeneas's katabasis comes in the form of Mr. Abel Newsome. Strether's mission, although delegated by Mrs. Newsome, is in fact originally the intention of her dead husband who, before the action of the novel begins, had "laid down ... certain lines ... ten years ago" (93) before he died (58). Mr. Newsome is endowed with Virgilian features when a sentence from *Project of Novel* is taken into consideration. In it, James is fashioning his character after Anchises's shade, which reminds his son Aeneas of his mission in Book VI:

It's the voice of the late Newsome that, as it were from beyond the tomb, makes the demand of Chad, reaches out the arm to draw him back to the supervision of the "advertising department." (CN 569).

When this sentence is coupled with Strether's explanation to Maria Gostrey concerning the details of his embassy, which are expressed in rather strong blood terms (*N* 6: 58-62), duty is introduced, not unlike that to which *pius* (good, true-hearted, dutiful) *Aeneas*<sup>27</sup> must attend.

With the introduction of duty arrives that of destiny as well. This can be located again in Book VI of the epic:

Others strike breathing bronze delicately,  
(I truly believe), they draw living features from marble,  
They will argue their cases better, sketch the motions of the heavens  
With a rod and predict rising stars:  
Remember, Roman, you are to command peoples  
(these will be your arts), to establish peace,  
spare the subjected, and subdue the proud. (lines 847-53)

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<sup>27</sup> *Aen.* I.220, 305, 378; IV.393; V.26, 286, 685; VI.9, 176, 232; VIII.84; IX.255; X.591, 783, 826; XI.170; XII.175, 311. Horace (*Odes* IV.7.15), Ovid (*Am.* II.18.31; *Fast.* I.527, III. 601) and Silius Italicus (VII.474) also use this epithet for the Trojan. The English "pious," of course, derives from this Latin word, but its present meaning is too narrowly religious and not a fully adequate translation.

Aeneas is responsible for the destiny of Rome just as Strether is for that of America. But it would be absurd to equate James, pacifist that he was, with Manifest Destiny. There is an important difference, therefore, between Aeneas/Rome's destiny and Strether/America's: the former's responsibilities lie with government, or the *imperium* half of *translatio imperii et studii*; while the latter's responsibilities lie with culture, or the *studium* half. Strether calls this "the temple of taste that he had dreamed of raising up" (N 6: 79), for an artist as sophisticated as James wanted his country to adopt the finer aspects of empire, some like those that Augustan Rome could offer, such as literature that mixes the *utile dulci*. Strether, after all, is the editor of a journal back in Woollett, Massachusetts, the green-covered *Review* (63-5, 69, 77, 80), and he conveys the message of *pietas* in/through this novel, itself a work of literary art, to its American audience.

Beyond Book VI, however, the plot and characters of *The Ambassadors* can be seen as being much more grounded in the *Aeneid* than previously thought, encompassing the entire poem and not just one of its twelve books. From the very beginning, for instance, Strether's journey is described as an "adventure" (N 6: 23), a very accurate description of Aeneas's wanderings as are those of his epic predecessor Odysseus on which they are partly modeled.

Next, Mrs. Newsome most strongly resembles the gods, namely Jupiter, Venus and Juno, all of who are in tune with the workings of fate. The king of the gods, for instance, has a vested interest in Aeneas's mission because his grandchildren are the legendary twin founders of Rome, Romulus and Remus (via his son Mars and Rea Silvia [Livy I.3.11-4.2]). When Aeneas is tempted to remain in Carthage with Dido, Jove sends another of his sons, Mercury, down from the heavens to remind the Trojan of his destiny (*Aen.* IV.219-78). This is exactly what Strether is in Europe to do on Mrs. Newsome's behalf – to remind

Chad, her son, of his duty. Just as Aeneas eventually leaves Dido to marry Lavinia in Italy, so does Mrs. Newsome expect Chad to part from Madame de Vionnet in order to wed Mamie Pocock in America (*N* 6: 68-70, 232, 241, 261, 309, 319-20).

What is more, the reader never meets the wealthy matron of the Newsome household despite being a very powerful presence throughout the book. The same can be said about most classical deities who rarely present themselves to mortals. James's inspiration for Mrs. Newsome, according to Leon Edel and Lyall H. Powers (*CN* 548 n.4), is the mother in Victorien Sardou's play *La Famille Benoiton* (1865), but James's description of Mrs. Newsome in one of his notebook entries can also apply to the gods, who rarely present themselves to mortals:

lively element as she is in the action, we deal with her presence and personality only as an affirmed influence, only in their deputed, represented form: and nothing, of course, can be more artistically interesting than such a little problem as to make her always out of it, yet always *of* it, always absent, yet always felt. (548)

Even more accurately perhaps, Mrs. Newsome resembles Venus in this sense who, as seen earlier in this chapter, tends to hide herself throughout classical epic poetry behind mists and clouds.

The last deity whose characteristics Mrs. Newsome possesses is Juno. The queen of the gods is notorious for her anger at losing the Judgement of Paris as well as for her jealousy at her husband Jupiter's many infidelities (*Aen.* I.28, for example, referring to Jove's affair with Electra which produced Dardanus, the progenitor of the Trojan race). When the reader learns from Strether that "Waymarsh has been [...] in communication with Woollett" (*N* 6: 237) because he needs "looking after" (238) for a potentially budding relationship between Strether and Gostrey, Mrs. Newsome decides to send her daughter Sarah to Paris as well. In addition to Mrs. Newsome's potential anger and jealousy, this



second embassy is very reminiscent of Juno's decisions to send Iris down to Earth to do her biddings as well: once to help Dido's shade to Hades (*Aen.* IV.693-705), then to burn the Trojan ships (V.604-63), and finally to egg Turnus on to war (IX.1-24). (Jupiter, incidentally, also sends Iris down to Earth [803-4].)

The first character the reader actually does meet in the novel is Lewis Lambert Strether whose very first words form a "question, when he reached the hotel, [...] about his friend [Waymarsh]" (*N* 6: 23). Similarly, one of the first concerns that Aeneas has in Virgil's work is his compatriot "fierce Hector [who] lies under the spear of Aeacus's grandson [Achilles]" (I.99). Indeed, "dyspeptic Waymarsh" (*N* 6: 27) who "had not lived with his wife for fifteen years" (39), although alive, is no better off than the dead Hector. In fact, the first time he appears in the novel, Waymarsh too is lying down, on his bed (37). In James's original conception of this character, according to *Project of Novel*, he is "fatigued, overworked, threatened with nervous prostration and taking, somewhat against the grain, a fidgety, uncomfortable rest" (*CN* 544). "Waymark [Waymarsh's original name] is an overworked lawyer [... whose work] engender[s] for him many responsibilities and much tension" (545). "Poor Waymarsh" (39, 80, 96, 108, 134) is not fond of Europe either (38-41), just as Hector is the mortal enemy of the European Greeks. Like Aeneas who acknowledges Hector as the greatest of the Trojans despite his loss to Achilles, Strether too nevertheless considers Waymarsh "a success" (39) despite his friend's problems.

Strether, of course, being the protagonist, inevitably embodies some of the characteristics of Aeneas. Mention already has been made of his duty and landing in a foreign continent, but he has also lost his wife years ago (55, 77) as Aeneas had left Creusa behind to die in Troy (*Aen.* II.562-794; IX.297-8). Strether had a son as well, who can be likened to Ascanius (also known as Iulus), in spite of the fact that he is dead before the

novel opens (*N* 6: 55, 77). Chad could be an Ascanius of sorts too, if his mother marries Strether. It is tempting to roll back one generation and view Strether also as Anchises whose Venus is Mrs. Newsome, an association already made. Finally, Strether can also be interpreted as Mercury being sent by Mrs. Newsome (Jupiter) to remind Chad (Aeneas) of his duty. Even Wolf at one point in his dissertation describes Strether as “a cultural Hermes [Roman Mercury], returning home to deliver a new interpretation of American culture” (205). In late Jamesian fiction the protagonist tends to be the central consciousness, or the one who delivers the story to the reader from his perspective alone. In this sense, as carrier of culture, which includes the message of duty along with the story itself, Strether can be seen both as the novel’s Mercury as well as the rhapsodist who sings of love and Chad.

As already noted, Chad also can be viewed as an Aeneas figure. Indeed, it is Chad who must go back to America, and not necessarily Strether. Furthermore, Chad’s forbidden relationship with Madame de Vionnet recalls that of Aeneas and Dido.<sup>28</sup> His involvement with her proves to be an obstacle to his familial duty, as Aeneas’s love for Dido does to his national one. Nevertheless, like Aeneas who continues on his way to father the Roman race in Italy, Chad eventually does return to the family business in America.

The next character with strong classical connotations is Maria Gostrey. She is introduced in the very first chapter as a guide, much like Virgil in Canto I of Dante’s *Divine Comedy*, thus immediately situating the novel within the Virgilian tradition. Her French apartment is an “empire of ‘things’,” which “had indeed thus their temple. It was the innermost nook of the shrine ... In the brownness were glints of gold; patches of purple

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<sup>28</sup> There were productions of Henry Purcell’s *Dido and Aeneas* (1688) and Hector Berlioz’s *Les Troyens* (1858) throughout 19<sup>th</sup> century Britain, and Tintner notes that James did sometimes frequent the opera house (*Cosmopolitan* 281-307); therefore, it is possible that the relationship between Chad and Marie de Vionnet may only indirectly come from Virgil. Yet, at the same time, James does himself admit in a notebook entry dated Monday 25 March 1889 that he had a “want of musical knowledge” (*CN* 51).

were in the gloom” (*N* 6: 99). There is an “antique order, to a neatness that was almost august” and which Strether calls “a haunt of ancient peace” (425), all of which gives one an impression of the post-civil war Roman imperial world under the *Augustan Peace*. The last quotation, furthermore, comes from the twenty-second stanza of Lord Tennyson’s “The Palace of Art:”

And one, an English home – gray twilight poured  
                     On dewy pastures, dewy trees,  
 Softer than sleep – all things in order stored,  
                     A haunt of ancient Peace. (lines 85-8)

Its two middle verses, along with Tennyson’s other very similar line 56 in “Ode: O Bosky Brook”

Or in close pastures soft as dewy sleep,

display very Virgilian overtones – namely “grass softer than sleep” from *Eclogue* VII.45.

This description of Gostrey’s apartment, then, suggests James’s attraction to the Roman poet’s sense of political and moral calm after civil strife, probably in response to the Spanish-American War resulting in the Treaty of Paris in 1898, only two years before the composition of *The Ambassadors*.

At first, though, in *Project of Novel*, James conceived of Gostrey as being Strether’s “friendly Egeria” (*CN* 555), a Roman mythological figure often utilized by the author, whereby here Strether would be a Numa Pompilius figure of sorts, not unlike Winterbourne is in “Daisy Miller.” Just as the nymph guided her human husband throughout his career, Maria, a cicerone, “pigeon-holed her fellow *mortals* with a hand as free as that of a compositor scattering type” (*N* 6: 28; my emphasis). Later, in the novel, she is developed as more of a Palinurus, Aeneas’ helmsman, guiding Strether around Europe. Wolf, as seen above, likened Gostrey to Deiphobe, the Cumean Sybil, because she “*shows* him [Strether]

and puts him up to, she is really, for him, quite one of the phenomena of his episode” (*CN* 546). Indeed, Maria herself makes a loaded comment in the novel: ““Well, I don’t pretend to be a seer or a prophetess”” (*N* 6: 108), and “[t]hough she disclaimed the prophetic vision she was at this instant the nearest approach he [Strether] had ever met to the priestess of the oracle” (108-9). At the very end of the book she repeats her own and Strether’s words when she tries to express her love to him but he refuses it (429-30), just like Echo does to Narcissus (yet another similarity to “Daisy Miller”).

In addition to Egeria, Palinurus and the Sybil, Maria Gostrey is also Strether’s Dido. In the very first chapter, for instance, she “received him as a guest. Her acquaintance with the place presented her in a manner as a hostess” (26), just as Dido welcomed Aeneas in the first book of the epic. Two chapters later she defends her brand of hospitality when Strether teases her of sending her American clients back home via Liverpool:

Any port will serve in a storm. I’m – with all my other functions – an agent for repatriation. I want to re-people our stricken country. What will become of it else? I want to discourage others (46).

Aeneas, of course, was shipwrecked on Carthage because of a storm on his way to repopulating Italy with a new people. The Virgilian tension between randomness (it might just as easily have been Carthage that became the great new empire as that is where Aeneas happened to be stranded) and destiny (but it was destiny that it would have to be Rome, as *infelix* Dido found to her cost) translates into accommodating the apparently contingent protagonist in a carefully plotted and directed novel like *The Ambassadors*. The final piece of evidence for this comparison comes from Strether’s refusal to marry Maria at the end of the novel in order to return home and begin his new life, recalling of course Aeneas leaving Dido to found his new home in Italy (*Aen.* IV.279-415).

But, as noted, Adrian Poole argues that the role of Dido is played by Marie de Vionnet. The crux of the matter, then, is that both female characters play similar roles in Strether's journey, just as Strether and Chad share some of Aeneas's characteristics; Maria shows Strether around the physical world, Marie around the more emotional/spiritual one. This duality is revealed in the fact that they share essentially the same Christian name. Together, but never really at the same time, they help Strether along the way to his eventual epiphany. Once he attains his new view on life (a different, more European perspective), their work – like Virgil's in Dante's *Purgatory* – is done. And just as the Florentine's next and last stop along his journey is Paradise, the now enlightened Strether too has one more place to go – America.

Wolf labels Madame Marie de Vionnet the “queen shade of [Strether's] otherworld” (256) because her hybrid English and French speech (245) attracts Strether (244-5), acting as his “bridge to style” in order for the American to understand Europe better (247). Already encountered in the Introduction, where the Neoclassical paintings of the *Gallerie d'Apollon* represented for James his first “bridge over to Style,” Marie de Vionnet accomplishes for Strether verbally what the *Gallerie d'Apollon* did for James visually. Together “[t]heir new tone” (*N* 6: 377) creates a new perspective on life (Wolf 249). In addition to this Persephone (Roman Proserpina/Proserpine) analogy, Kventsel associates her with Astarte, Isis, Demeter and Aphrodite (33, 39). This last goddess, Roman Venus, is all but named in the novel:

her slim lightness and brightness, her gaiety, her expression, her decision, contributed to an effect that might have been felt by a poet as half mythological and half conventional. He [Virgil?] could have compared her to a goddess still partly engaged in a morning cloud, ... (*N* 6: 198)

To continue Wolf's analogy, but along more politico-historical lines, Marie de Vionnet personifies *translatio imperii*, thus explaining why her home contains

some glory, some prosperity of the First Empire, some Napoleonic glamour, some dim lustre of the great legend; elements clinging still to all the consular chairs and mythological brasses and sphinxes' heads and faded surfaces of satin striped with alternate silk. (*N* 6: 179-80)

It is an "old high salon where the ghost of the [French] Empire walked" (380), not unlike that of Maria Gostrey's apartment in fact, and where Strether

knew in advance he should look back on the perception actually sharpest with him as on the view of something old, old, old, the oldest thing he had ever personally touched. (394)

Toward the end of his life, James would refer to himself as Napoleon Bonaparte (*CN* 581-4), displaying how the prospect of empire for a late 19<sup>th</sup>/early 20<sup>th</sup> century American like Strether (and Chad) was intoxicating because of the glamour and extent of contemporary European empires, including the Russian, Austro-Hungarian and German as well as British. In *The Ambassadors*, the course of history is being reversed as Strether arrives from the United States to England and then goes to France, all of which occurs with the underlying Roman theme of the *Aeneid*. Strether in Europe is not visiting an underworld so much as he is entering an imperial time warp, slowly returning to a Westerner's spiritual, classical roots, something akin to T. S. Eliot, who had a Dantesque Virgilian nostalgia for empire.<sup>29</sup> Unlike Aeneas, Strether may not be a general or statesman, but he is an ambassador of sorts with a mission of his own to fulfill. He may not deal with politics, but he does have social duties to perform. From this perspective, *The Ambassadors* begins to resemble "Daisy

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<sup>29</sup> Dante's *On Monarchy* (c. 1302-21) III.12-5 sympathizes with the Holy Roman Emperor's authority over secular life. Similarly, T. S. Eliot's *The Waste Land* (1922) expresses a deep sense of the loss of empires in his time. The Anglo-American poet admired the Austro-Hungarian Empire, for instance, which he saw as descending from its Holy Roman predecessor, which in turn originated with the ancient Romans (Cook 36-42).

Miller” yet again in that James is utilising an ancient Augustan author to demonstrate the moral he wants to teach. In the case of the novella, the novelist wanted to stress the need to strike while the iron is hot; in the novel, he wants to promote the sense of duty towards one’s family and country, which is why both Chad and Strether (respectively) finally return to America despite their positive experiences in Europe. They can bring back with them what they learned from the “old” continent (*translatio studii*) in order to contribute to the building of an America worthy of the imperial tradition that it was entering (*translatio imperii*) at the dawn of the new century. If Marie de Vionnet symbolizes Europe’s *imperium*, then Maria Gostey personifies its *studium*, while Strether and Chad represent the process of *translatio*. This connection is one reason why these four characters are attracted to each other, and furthermore why some readers have noted these attractions in Virgilian terms.

Sarah Pocock also embodies characters from the *Aeneid*. First, and most plainly, she, like Strether, also can be seen as Mercury (or Iris), arriving by orders of Mrs. Newsome to, as Strether puts it, “come to speak for her mother – with an effect different from *my muddle*” (*N* 6: 240); i.e., to remind her brother Chad to go back home to the family business.<sup>30</sup> But “grim Sarah” (279) can also be viewed as the powerful Turnus (or his ally, the Amazon-like Italian warrior maiden, Camilla) confronting her Aeneas, Strether:

What he dreaded was the effect of a single hour of Sarah Pocock, as to whom he was visited, in troubled nights, with fantastic waking dreams. She loomed at him larger than life; she increased in volume as she drew nearer; she so met his eyes that, his imagination taking, after the first step, all, and more than all, the strides, he already felt her come down on him, already burned, under her reprobation, with the blush of guilt, already consented, by way of penance, to the instant forfeiture of everything. (*N* 6: 250-1)

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<sup>30</sup> The fact that she arrives as part of an envoy, together with her husband and sister-in-law, makes one think of the Greeks who beach at Troy to take Helen back to Sparta. In this case, however, the gender roles are reversed as Marie de Vionnet would be Paris (a fittingly French connection), and Chad Helen.

When Sarah and Madame de Vionnet meet in the former's salon, the latter "was already on the [battle]field" (270). During their verbal duel, Sarah is described in such military terms when defending her brother: "'Oh I shall come to see you, since you've been so good': and Mrs. Pocock looked her *invader* well in the eyes" (275; my emphasis), as if they were facing each other in ancient Italy. In fact, this is what both Sarah and Strether are in Europe to accomplish – to fight for Chad's future, which represents that of America just as Turnus and Aeneas fight for the future of Latium.<sup>31</sup>

Although little Bilham is originally Chad's friend, he becomes very close to Strether as well. So close, in fact, that Strether's Horatian advice to "live all you can" is directed at him. These friendships that little Bilham has with both Aeneas-figures, Chad and Strether, remind one of *fidus Achates*, the Trojan leader's loyal compatriot. Even when Bilham lies to Strether about the true nature of the relationship between Chad and Marie de Vionnet, he does so for Chad's sake (with whom Strether eventually sympathizes as well), and does not do so in any way to hurt Strether. Little Bilham also generates *little* action; rather, he receives it as when Strether tries to convince him to marry Mamie Pocock – an idea, furthermore, that Bilham does not take to (319-24). Achates, too, never instigates much, speaking, for instance, merely twice in the entire epic (I.582-85; III.523), while always lending a helping hand instead. Miss Barrace, another of Chad's friends who also befriends Strether, can be seen as a female version of Achates.

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<sup>31</sup> In the third chapter of Book Ninth, while Strether is nervously awaiting news about Woollett and Mrs. Newsome from Sarah, the latter is also likened to the Pythia: "He had been waiting for Mrs. Pocock and the sound of the oracle" (N 6: 306). Miss Barrace fills this role too "as one of the famous augurs replying, behind the oracle" (325) when "she replied in truth to many things" put to her by Strether at Chad's apartment, where the ambassador then announces that "[a]ll you ladies [presumably Gostrey, Marie de Vionnet and Barrace] are extraordinarily kind to me." Yet, at one point in their conversation, one of Barrace's answers makes Strether wince "at it as at the very voice of prophecy" (329). On a related note, Kventsel comments that the mention of Roman augurs in this series of Greek metaphors introduces the idea of "latter day decadence" (53), the theme of the next chapter of this dissertation.



The final character with Virgilian overtones is Gloriani, who in many ways seems to represent the ancient poet himself. To begin with, the character's name is very Latin; it resembles *glorians*, the present participle of the deponent verb *glorior*, belonging to the word family of the noun *gloria*, a much sought after Roman attribute.<sup>32</sup> The very Virgilian Dencombe, for instance, of "The Middle Years," strives most of all for this: "It is glory – to have been tested, to have had our little quality and cast our little spell. The thing is to have made somebody care" (CS 4: 354). When Chad introduces Jeanne de Vionnet to Strether, she is so beautiful that Strether believes "Chad was, oh yes, at this moment – for the glory of Woollett or whatever – better still even than Gloriani" (N 6: 165). The sculptor therefore possesses much glory, and Strether admires him for it (148-9, 162). Gloriani is the only Jamesian character to appear more than twice in the Master's works: *Roderick Hudson* (1875), *The Ambassadors* (1903) and "The Velvet Glove" (1909); in other words, he is present from the early phase to the late. As outlined earlier in this chapter, Virgil too is present throughout James's writing career. Gloriani is also of French and Italian descent: in *Roderick Hudson*, he lives in Rome, has a studio in Paris (N 1: 236-7, 242, 261, 289), lectures at one point about muses (247-8), and is even called a Roman by Sam Singleton even though he meant it in terms of residence and not necessarily race (438). In *The Ambassadors*, however, Gloriani is a Roman, who moved to Paris in the middle of his career (N 6: 148, 192). Virgil, as one recalls, is from Mantua, which, although in Italy, is in the northern part of the peninsula, which was more accurately Cisalpine Gaul during antiquity; the city itself was conquered by the Cenomani before it came under Roman sway

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<sup>32</sup> The name may also be mediated by Edmund Spenser's "Gloriana," one of the names under which he alludes to Queen Elizabeth I in *The Faerie Queene*.

in the third century BC.<sup>33</sup> Finally, both are artists: one a sculptor, the other a poet. That Virgil is of the pastoral persuasion probably explains why Gloriani has a garden where Strether's famous Horatian outburst to little Bilham takes place. That speech, therefore, carries an Augustan value; and the garden's proprietor, who befriends Strether, is, according to Viola Hopkins, the very personification of the lived life for the American (66).

### *Setting*

Just as they were in "Daisy Miller," the settings are very symbolic in *The Ambassadors* too, especially when compared with the *Aeneid*. In *Project of Novel*, James writes about Strether's "destined arrival" (CN 544) at Liverpool, having sailed from the United States. Indeed, Strether's disembarkation from his ship (N 6: 23) to begin his embassy is neatly paralleled with Aeneas being stranded on the shores of Carthage after his ship has been wrecked in a great storm while on the way to fulfilling his destiny. Such metaphors based on the sea abound. When one is reminded that Aeneas had been sailing for many years, then Strether's slightly confused outlook at the current state of affairs becomes easier to comprehend for he

was in fact so often at sea that his sense of the range of reference was merely general and that he on several different occasions guessed and interpreted only to doubt" (97).

Furthermore, when early in the novel he believes that Chad may marry Miss Jeanne de Vionnet and still return to America, he tells Maria Gostrey that "it may be plain sailing yet" (141). Later, however, when the Pococks arrive, Strether is intimidated by Sarah, whose "mother's own boat ... she's pulling" (253):

To meet his fellow visitor's invocation and, with Sarah's brilliant eyes on him, [to] answer, *was* quite sufficiently to step into her boat. During the rest of the time her visit lasted he felt himself proceed to each of the proper offices, successively, for

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<sup>33</sup> See N. Vance *Victorians* 145-6 (and 161) for a discussion on the allegedly Celtic side of Virgil.

helping to keep the adventurous skiff afloat. It rocked beneath him, but he settled himself in his place. He took up an oar and, since he was to have the credit of pulling, pulled. (273)

He also describes her evaluation of the constantly changing situation two days later in the following manner: “I can’t surprise them into the smallest sign of his not being the same old Chad they’ve been for the last three years glowering at across the sea.” And,

If Madame de Vionnet, under Sarah’s eyes, had pulled him [Chad] into her boat, there was by this time no doubt whatever that he had remained in it and that what he had really most been conscious of for many hours together was the movement of the vessel itself. (283)

The narrator of the novel then, after Strether’s disembarking, reveals the protagonist’s itinerary “who for the most part plunged straight into the current that set from the landing-stage to London” (23-4) and eventually to France where he must carry out his mission in “Paris, which is his specially-constituted objective” (CN 546), and which is described in the novel as “this *classic* ground” (N 6: 300; my emphasis). Similarly, Aeneas from Troy first stops at Carthage and then Sicily on his way to Italy to establish the Roman race. The constant in most of these places (except Liverpool, which resembles Carthage as will be seen shortly) is that they were all Roman colonies and, like Rome, London and Paris were capitals of later empires. In fact, in 19<sup>th</sup> century Europe the idea that London and Paris were modern Romes was not uncommon as the narrator in Chapter 16 of Walter Pater’s *Marius the Epicurean* (1885) considers them to be (3: 14). Strether, being American, does not directly partake in this particular tradition, but at the end of the novel he is ready to carry *imperium et studium* back with him across the Atlantic as Aeneas had at first brought them across the Mediterranean to Italy.

Strether must land at Liverpool simply by virtue of the fact that it is where the port is located. As James described the city in *English Hours*,

Liverpool is not a Romantic city, but that smoky Saturday returns to me as a supreme success, measured by its association with the kind of emotion in the hope of which, for the most part, we betake ourselves to far countries. (*CTW* 1: 14)

This he does in *The Ambassadors*, and to far away times as well. In 1826 the Liverpudlian artist Samuel Austin depicted Dido receiving Aeneas in a Carthage that housed the new classical buildings that had been erected in Liverpool (N. Vance *Victorians* 74). The English city was a mercantile power in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, much like Carthage had been in antiquity, and this connection would not have been lost on James who was living in England at the time for most of his career. In fact, the entire “nation of shopkeepers” was often associated with the classical mercantile power of North Africa (72-3). Coupled with the fact that it was founded in medieval times, Liverpool would simply not do as the venue for him and his compatriot Waymarsh to encounter each other after years apart. These old friends “should meet at Chester” (*N* 6: 23), an ancient Roman colony. In *Project of Novel*, Strether and Waymark are to walk and talk “happily” (a marked difference from Waymarsh’s character in the final, novel version) along its famous ancient walls (*CN* 544-5). These Roman walls allude to those of Troy during happier days and by inference to their youth in America. By connecting Troy and the United States James foretells his country’s imperial rise as the new Rome in much the same way that Virgil does in *Aeneid* VI with the pageant of future Roman heroes.

But in the novel, Strether walks the Roman walls with Maria Gostrey (*N* 6: 31-5) instead. The ruins here become a very appropriate analogy for *translatio imperii*:

The tortuous wall – girdle, long since snapped, of the little swollen city, half held in place by careful civic hands – wanders in narrow file between parapets smoothened by peaceful generations, pausing here and there for a dismantled gate or a bridged gap, with rises and drops, steps up and steps down, queer twists, queer contacts, peeps into homely streets and under the brows of gables, views of cathedral tower and waterside fields, of huddled English town and ordered English country. (31)

Strether's eloquent description of the "wall," or British empire, is "tortuous" because, as Norman Vance, summarizing Cambridge historian John Robert Seeley's lectures *The Expansion of England* (1883), puts it:

any route to empire involved a measure of brutality and repression, but [Seeley] claimed that in British colonial history, as in Virgil's *Aeneid*, there were gleams amidst darkness, righteous pioneers who 'remind us of Abraham and Aeneas' (*Victorians* 142).

The walls of Chester certainly help to flesh this idea out, especially since Aeneas "established mores and walls for his men" (*Aen.* I.264). The "girdle, long since snapped, of the little swollen city, half held in place by careful civic hands" is a relic of Rome's organized and orderly administration before withdrawal from Britain in the fifth century. Despite her eventual fall, Rome's legacy throughout Europe nevertheless "wanders in narrow file between parapets smoothened by peaceful generations," just like Anchises's account of Roman destiny to impose the habit of peace. Then,

pausing here and there for a dismantled gate or a bridged gap, with rises and drops, steps up and steps down, queer twists, queer contacts, peeps into homely streets and under the brows of gables,

peace or empire eventually returns to Britain, but this time as the conqueror and not the conquered, witnessing "views of cathedral tower and waterside fields, of huddled English town and ordered English country." This imagery almost certainly derives from James's travelogue on Chester three decades earlier, at about the time that Strether was supposedly first there too (*CN* 544, *N* 6: 31-2). In that travel essay can also be found quotations from the imperial epics *Pharsalia* by Lucan (I.135; *CTW* 1: 57) and the *Aeneid* (I.604; already analysed above), to which the former is much indebted. Such consultation of previous travel writing for creative inspiration is common practice for James who, as noted in the

previous chapter, based the setting of “Daisy Miller” also to a great extent on his Swiss and Roman travel essays.

For Wolf this archaeological promenade represents the civic piety and cultural background that America lacks (359-60). Strether realizes these absences from his country and longs for them:

Too deep almost for words was the delight of these things to Strether; yet as deeply mixed with it were certain images of his inward picture. He had trod this walk in the far-off time, at twenty-five; but that instead of spoiling it, only enriched it for present feeling and marked his renewal as a thing substantial enough to share. It was with Waymarsh he should have shared it, and he was now accordingly taking from him something that was his due. (*N* 6: 31-2)

As with Hector and Aeneas, although the former is the great hero of Troy, it is the latter who becomes more famous; although Waymarsh was more successful, Strether will be the one most enriched at the end of the novel. Returning to the Roman walls of Chester after three decades invigorates Strether, inspiring him to continue along this way, a path that eventually leads him back home together with all the culture and knowledge that he will acquire from this European sojourn. He becomes, in effect, and once more, the novel’s *translatio studii* to America.

Another look at *Project of Novel* reveals that James from the very beginning wanted to include “the picturesque *old* town of Chester” (*CN* 544; my emphasis). Its walls must have made James, an American, long for the day when his own nation would follow in the cultural footsteps of its colonizer, just as the latter did theirs. As Norman Vance puts it for Britain, in albeit more politically charged terms,

The pride of Britain had once been humbled when the country had succumbed to Roman legions and the future colonizer had become a colony, but that pride could be restored by the reflection that Britain might well be or become a new and greater Rome. (*Victorians* 198)

By the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, it became clear to everyone that it was now the turn of the United States to shoulder the heavy burden of empire, and James was ready to bear its Western literary standard. Being the visual writer that he was, American tourists walking along the Roman walls of a British town provided for him a very apt metaphor.

From the second chapter of Book Second, the setting shifts to France, which is compared to Greece (*N* 6: 374) again, presumably that of the ancient period since James never visited the modern country and in tandem with the many Greek dramatic associations already seen. The previous, Roman descriptions of Britain in the novel contrasted with these Hellenic ones of France require some attention. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century Virgil's relegation (via Anchises in Book VI of the *Aeneid*) of the more creative arts to mainly the Greeks while the Romans were destined for those of government reminded many readers of the French and British respectively: the former tended to be regarded as a highly civilized people who failed on the imperial front (twice), while the latter were less flamboyant yet maintained a large and prosperous empire (Jenkyns *The Victorians and Ancient Greece* 331). This impression can be seen in James who, in the late 1870s when he had moved from Paris to London, lamented to his family and friends about having substituted his sophisticated French lifestyle for a duller yet more work conducive British one (*CLHJ* 1876-8 1: 3-119 *passim*). In this respect both European countries can be seen as representing each a different half of the *translatio imperii et studii*. In a letter to his mother during this period, James agreed "with [his brother William] that we shall certainly one day be better 'artists' than the English who strike me as utterly hopeless & helpless" (108), *The Ambassadors* representing perhaps an example of his attempt at the cultural half of this transference. Rowe takes this idea to its logical conclusion:

James understood that the neo-imperialism of the US would be accomplished by commercial and cultural rather than military and political means, in which case the novel offers a serious warning about the American Century. (“Nationalism and imperialism” 254)

It is not surprising, then, that when the second chapter of Book Second of *The Ambassadors* opens in Paris the classical characteristics of the city are reinforced with “its columns and cornices” (N 6: 377). What is more, the etymology of the French capital’s name is derived from the Gallic tribe Parisii who originally settled on Ile de la Cité in the River Seine during the third century BC. Although the Romans called the city Lutetia, the late emperor Julian the Apostate eventually named it Parisii in the third century AD. James, of course, cannot refrain himself from taking the artistic liberty of associating the City of Love with the homonymous mythological figure who sparked the Trojan War through perhaps the most notorious romantic scandal in antiquity – his abduction of, or elopement with, Helen. This myth creates much resonance in James’s own pair of forbidden lovers, Chad Newsome and Marie de Vionnet, because connecting the capital with the Trojan helps the author to insert the city (and by extension his novel) into a long European tradition of Trojan romances, which include not just Paris and Helen, but Aeneas and Dido as well. In fact, the entire novel can be seen as being a “tale of Paris” (391), as the narrator puts it in the first chapter of the last Book, not unlike the *Iliad* after which the *Aeneid* is largely based.

These medieval stories were classified by the late 12<sup>th</sup> century French poet Je[h]an Bodel into three broad categories: *Matters of Rome*, *Britain* and *France*; together they are known as the *Three Matters of Romance*. The first deals mostly with classical mythology, the second mainly with the legends of King Arthur and the third with those of Charlemagne. The genre of romance derived its name from the fact that these adventures



about chivalric heroes (usually knights) and their love for courtly ladies were originally written in Old French, a derivative of Latin, the language of the Romans. Many of these medieval tales contain Trojan figures inspired by the *Aeneid* such as Chrétien de Troyes's *Érec et Énide*, which often resonates with the story of Dido and Aeneas, but some of these characters are not even mentioned in any ancient texts at all. The most famous of these is Brutus of Troy, the eponymous founder of Britain, who first appears in *Historia Britonum* compiled by Nennius in the ninth century, but is most famously presented in *Historia Regum Britanniae* by the 12<sup>th</sup> century chronicler Geoffrey of Monmouth, among other romances in the *Matter of Britain* such as *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*. He also makes an appearance as late as the 16<sup>th</sup> century in Sir Thomas Wyatt's "Tagus, farewell." In the Middle Ages and Renaissance many European dynasties sought to legitimize their power by presenting themselves as descendants of the Trojans. This Virgilian tactic made the powers-that-be at the time seem as if they had descended from the Romans on whose former imperial land they were also occupying. In other words, the *Aeneid* prompted a Trojan tradition that helped transmit *translatio studii et imperii* throughout Europe during the medieval and early modern periods (Gertz 186). In fact, evidence of this tradition can be traced as far as the Ukraine and as late as 1798 with Ivan Kotliarevsky's vernacular poem *Eneyida*, which, according to Norman Vance, "transformed Trojan heroes into Ukrainian Cossacks and gave a literary voice to national feeling (*Victorians* 135). By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when its imperialist tendencies were plain to everyone, America was the next logical destination in the trajectory of this topos.

*The Ambassadors* opens with the idea of leaving America and closes with that of returning to it, mirroring *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, which starts and ends with Troy (lines 1-22, 2522-5). The literary ramifications of this imitation is that James, like the

Pearl Poet, uses the *Aeneid* as a model to link his country with a prestigious tradition while at the same time using it to create a new work of art (Gertz 187, 189).<sup>34</sup>

Since *The Ambassadors* is, after all, set in both England and Paris, it can be seen as tracing a literary line back to the *Matters of Britain* and *France*. What is more, a subdivision of the *Matter of Rome*, the *Matter of Troy*, had an even greater impact on James, for his novel can very well be read alongside perhaps the most popular strain in this cycle, namely the Troilus and Cressida story, running from Benoît de Saint-Maure's *Le Roman de Troie* in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, through Giovanni Boccaccio's *Il Filostrato* and *Troilus and Criseyde* by Geoffrey Chaucer in the 14<sup>th</sup>, until William Shakespeare's 17<sup>th</sup> century tragedy. Furthermore, the couple in all of these stories, including those in the *Iliad* and *Aeneid*, are of course from different continents (Paris from Asia and Helen from Europe, for example, and Aeneas is Asian while Dido is African), a feature that would certainly attract James who is well known for his international theme. Through Chad, North America is injected into this cycle of romances. In addition to the romantic aspects of these tales, when Sarah Pocock and her retinue arrive on the scene one is reminded not only of the arrival of Mercury (sent by Jupiter/Mrs. Newsome) before Aeneas in *Aeneid* IV, but also of the presence of the besieging Greeks at Troy in the *Iliad*. For James there could therefore be no other more symbolic (or symbolically named) European city for his novel, Paris. *The Ambassadors* positions itself in this European tradition, articulating not just the emerging empire of the United States, much like the earlier romances did for their own nations, but the American reception of the *studium*, in this case literary culture, that accompanied *imperium* during the transfer. In summary, Jamesian *translatio (imperii et) studii* runs from Troy through Carthage, Paris and London to fictional Woollett (and factual Cambridge,

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<sup>34</sup> Kventsel notes some other medieval uses in *The Ambassadors* (40).

where James's Harvard University is), Massachusetts, carrying with it Augustanisms such as Horace's *carpe diem* and Virgil's *pietas*.

James's notebooks also reveal much about the ancient Augustan undercurrents flowing through *The Ambassadors*. As noted at various points throughout this chapter, one major theme in the novel is Horace's *carpe diem*.<sup>35</sup> A notebook entry from 31 October 1895 (along with its reiteration in *Project of Novel* five years later [CN 545]) confirms the presence of this idea when James quoted William Dean Howells, who had just lost his father, advising Jonathan Sturges with the following words:

Oh, you are young, you are young – be glad of it: be glad of it and *live*. Live all you can: it's a mistake not to. It doesn't so much matter what you do – but live. This place makes it all come over me. I see it now. I haven't done so – and now I'm old. It's too late. It has gone past me – I've lost it. You have time. You are young. Live! (CN 141)

"This place" can be one of two locations as James later elaborates in *Project of Novel*: the garden of American artist Whistler where they had "tea under the trees" (542), or the larger city of Paris producing "what I now give the results of. But I thought it might amuse you to take in also the dropped seed from which they were to spring" (543). The pastoral location in one and language in the other, together with the fact that the French capital dates back to Roman times, only serve to reinforce this classical, Augustan connotation.

One last place with Virgilian overtones in *The Ambassadors* is an inn outside Paris called the *Cheval Blanc*, "White Horse," in whose garden Strether is sitting (N 6: 379-89). Here he comes across Chad with Marie, a sight that makes him realize that their "virtuous attachment" (139-41, 144, 152, 165, 204, 411), as Bilham euphemistically described their relationship, is in fact an affair (386). Wolf (325) thinks that the *Cheval Blanc* refers to the

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<sup>35</sup> The earliest instance of this philosophy in the novel, in fact, occurs in the very first chapter when Maria Gostrey scolds Strether for looking at his watch and recommends that he enjoy the moment instead (N 6: 32).

white horse in the *Book of Revelation of John* (VI.2; XIX.11), which prepares Strether to see this epiphany. But in the same scene in the Bible there are other colored horses that bring forth revelations: a red one signifying power (VI.4), a black one justice (5) and a pale one death (8). The white one represents conquest, which would not make much sense in Wolf's reading; in fact, none of them would. Instead, there is perhaps a better allusion in the third Book of the *Aeneid*, when the Trojans first approach Italy, where they spot four white horses (lines 537-8). The name of the inn in the novel, incidentally, is mentioned on four occasions, three times in French (*N* 6: 379 [twice], 388) and once in English (380).<sup>36</sup> This number, four, in the *Aeneid* is symbolic because "it corresponds to the *quadriga* [four-horsed chariot] of the *triumphator* [triumphant person]" (Horsfall 379), while "[t]he horses' dazzling white is climatic" (380), just as this scene is the novel's climax.

Anchises comments that these animals can be viewed in two ways: as an omen of war or as one of peace (*Aen.* III.539-43), an ambiguity which can be just as easily applied to Chad and Marie's relationship, whose interpretation depends on its viewer. For Strether at the end of this episode the revelation of this now exposed love affair is neither advantageous nor disadvantageous, it simply exists:

He recognised at last that he had really been trying all along to suppose nothing. Verily, verily, his labour had been lost. He found himself supposing innumerable and wonderful things. (*N* 6: 389)

James, meanwhile, uses the Virgilian imagery of the four white horses to help elucidate this emotion.

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<sup>36</sup> James uses a similar numerical device in "Daisy Miller," whereupon the tenth time he writes the words "innocence" or "innocent," Daisy is seated beneath the painting of the not so innocent Pope Innocent X by Diego Velasquez in the Galleria Doria Pamphili in Rome (Tintner "The Jamesian Tradition in *The Book Class*" 331; *Museum* xviii, 63-9, 81).

## Themes

In addition to the two most obvious themes in this work, namely James's favourite international theme (via *translatio imperii et studii*) and Horace's *carpe diem*, *The Ambassadors* is also about *pietas*. As already seen, Aeneas "carries" the epithet *pious* before his name just as he does his father Anchises on his back (in addition to leading his son by the hand while his wife follows them) when fleeing from burning Troy (II.721-5). Even Maria Gostrey, as a self-conscious American, alludes to this image when she rhetorically asks her compatriot Strether, "Of what is our nation composed but of the men and women individually on my shoulders?" (N 6: 33). Aeneas is the very personification of this Roman virtue, which keeps him focused on his mission, culminating in his (in)famous rejection of the love of a queen. His *pietas*, then, is rendered by Virgil as being twofold: both national as well as personal (N. Vance *Victorians* 143).<sup>37</sup> *The Ambassadors*, similarly, is a novel "melding nationally and socially determined obligations with the finer tuning of individual consciousnesses" (Seidel 141).

This notion of loyalty to one's country as well as his family in *The Ambassadors* is mainly represented by the characters of Strether and Chad, the Aeneas figures.<sup>38</sup> Firstly, Chad, along with the Newsomes as a whole, exemplifies national and filial, or familial, piety as his mother organizes an embassy to convince him to return home to work in the

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<sup>37</sup> It is worth noting that Virgilian *pietas* does not appear in the *Aeneid* alone. The *Georgics*, especially Book IV on bees, promote this virtue as well as that of industry. Bee culture served as a fitting metaphor for the ancient Romans who viewed their success as being based on collective hard work as opposed to their intelligent, but internecine Greek counterparts. Horace also used this bee metaphor to describe himself (*Odes* IV.2.27-32). For more on this topic, see Johnson.

<sup>38</sup> Madame Marie de Vionnet displays this sentiment as well, albeit to a lesser extent, when Maria Gostrey informs Strether that although the French noblewoman does not live with her husband the Comte de Vionnet any longer, "[c]es gens-là ['those people'; i.e., the aristocracy] don't divorce, you know, any more than they emigrate or abjure – they think it *impious* and vulgar" (N 6: 171; my emphasis). Mrs. Despard of "The Given Case" (1898-9), a short story written at about the same time as *The Ambassadors*, similarly can (or will) not divorce because "[s]he's a woman of *duty*" (CS 5: 46). The morality of marriage will be addressed more fully in the following chapter.

family business. She achieves this by sending relatives, first Strether her fiancée, then her daughter Sarah with her husband and his sister. Next, Strether stands for *pietas* in the way that he too decides to go back to America despite his positive experience in Europe. Arguably even greater than Aeneas, he overcomes his personal feelings for not one but two women, Maria Gostrey as well as Marie de Vionnet, in order to continue (even more tragically than the Trojan who can at least look forward to the founding of an imperial race) his rather drab job as the editor of the mediocre, green-covered Woollett *Review*, which may not even be waiting for him any more in the end (429). When Chad claims in the penultimate chapter that part of the reason why he has decided to return to America is because of Strether, the latter completely understands:

“No one in the world, I imagine, was ever so portentously solemn. There I am,” he added with another sigh, as if weary enough, on occasion, of this truth. “I was made so” (421-2)

These words evoke the famous 33<sup>rd</sup> line of the *Aeneid*: “it was a great endeavor to found the Roman race”. The end of *The Ambassadors* reveals this high price of *pietas* through the triumph of the Newsome family business whose victims are Madame de Vionnet and Maria Gostrey who lose their loves, and perhaps – one can argue – even Chad and Strether who lose their comfortable European lifestyles. Albers even associates the novel with the (ancient) Roman tales “The Last of the Valerii” and “Adina” by noting that all three demonstrate how “one can discover some of the same danger of hanging on to the Europe of the past” because it “interferes with human relationships” (194). Strether’s strong sense of duty, despite its personal pain(s), rivals – if not surpasses – that of Aeneas’s.

This queer mixture of wanderlust and duty rang especially true for the author who from the late 1870s began to experience grief from home about his prolonged absences in Europe. From friends like the Adamses, who encouraged him to return to the United States,

to enemies like Theodore Roosevelt, who throughout the 1880s and 1890s attacked what seemed to the would-be American President to be James's British preferences (Roberts 97-8), *The Ambassadors* is a response. Its intertwining of the *pietas* and international themes serve as a justification for his expatriation, and Virgil's epic became the ideal model for formulating that response.

Aeneas, as Malcolm Andrew and Ronald Waldron point out in *The Poems of the Pearl Manuscript* (232), is also the ancestor of Sir Gawain in the medieval romance of the Green Knight, which begins by invoking the siege of Troy (lines 1-4), Aeneas [Ennius] (5-7) and the arrival of Brutus in Britain (13-4), while Troy and Brutus are mentioned again at the end of the poem, (2523-5). Like his forefather, Gawain is pious (648-54). In this simplified descent of Aeneases, or personified pieties (i.e., Aeneas and Sir Gawain), Strether and Chad can be viewed as its modern scions, especially in view of the historical fact that America was colonised by the British. In other words, such *pietas* is yet another example of *translatio studii*, travelling from Troy through Rome and England to America.

As a result of his overseas trip, Strether discovers how American he really is. As Wolf articulates, "The Ambassadors ... thus reads best as a [proto]modernist epic" (1) in which "[t]his American Aeneas rediscovers himself by tracing his culture's development back to its originary locus" (22). It is in those last

conversations [with Maria Gostrey and Madame de Vionnet], [that] Strether for the final time contemplates the question of where his "home" is and of what this "home" consists, ending the novel on a nationalist and [therefore] fundamentally epic note. (275)

Just as Aeneas rejects Dido by leaving Carthage in order to bring *imperium* to Italy, Strether in the very last chapter does not want to stay in Maria Gostrey's "little Dutch-looking dining-room" with its aforementioned imperial Roman connotations. He instead

wants to return to the United States where, as Wolf again notes, “he must put his Europeanized consciousness to use on American shores” (360). In other words, from a more *translatio* point of view, Strether brings the lessons he learned in Europe, his *studium*, to the United States.<sup>39</sup> More specifically, this newfound knowledge consists of the Augustan values of living for the moment and performing one’s duty to both the family and state.

### *Style*

Donatus writes that when composing the *Georgics* Virgil dictated his verses in the morning and edited them in the afternoon (*Vit. Verg.* 22). James, from the late 1890s when the rheumatism in his right wrist became too painful to continue writing longhand, worked in a similar fashion, dictating fiction in the morning to his amanuensis followed by revisions to the typescript in his own hand later in the afternoon (Campbell 164). Scholars believe that this change in his work routine was one contributing factor to the emergence of the notoriously elaborate style of his late phase.<sup>40</sup> In his preface to *The Golden Bowl* written sometime between 1907 and 1909, he explains how the New York Edition of his works had “to lend itself to *vivâ-voce* treatment” since he was constantly concerned with how his fiction “*sounded*” (*N* 6: 449-50; *LC* 2: 1339). In fact, a supposed “secret” that he once told William Lyon Phelps, a Yale Professor James met in 1911 in Connecticut, reveals how the Master always had the oral tradition in mind (Vidal “Return to ‘The Golden Bowl’”):

Drawn off into a corner of the room by Henry James, I spoke of testing a written style by reading it aloud; that I had found many passages in Browning which seemed obscure to the eye were transparently clear when I read them aloud. To my surprise, he became excited. With intense earnestness he whispered in my ear, “I

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<sup>39</sup> The presence of the *translatio imperii et studii* trope in the American novel has already been noticed by T. Ziolkowski (“novel, modern” in R. F. Thomas and J. M. Ziolkowski 2: 915) who identifies it at the end of Thornton Wilder’s *The Cabala* (1926).

<sup>40</sup> Campbell; Edel *Henry James: A Life* 455-7; Wagenknecht *The Novels of Henry James* 182-237.



have never in my life written a sentence that I did not mean to be read aloud, that I did not specifically intend to meet that test; you try it and see. Only don't you tell." (Nowell-Smith 134)<sup>41</sup>

If this is indeed the case, then it would not be too difficult to see James as a writing rhapsodist of sorts, something very similar to Virgil.<sup>42</sup> In fact, when writing the *Aeneid*, continues Donatus, Virgil wrote the first draft initially in prose, then turned it into verses later. This poetic quality emerging from prose was always James's goal.

Not surprisingly, James's style has already been compared to that of the poet of Roman imperialism. Lynda S. Boren, for one, believes that *Aeneid* IX.433-7 with its "sound structuralism" (59) resembles James's late style (60). Adrian Poole's comparison is more complex. He traces one of the origins of *The Ambassadors* a full year before the notebook entry of 1895, discussed above. In January of 1894 Constance Fenimore Woolson, James's female companion, fell or jumped from a window in Venice. That summer (Edel *Henry James* 3: 376-7), James went to Rome "to visit the grave of Constance Fenimore Woolson, the woman in his life, if there was one, with the best claims to the role of Dido" (Poole 83). Poole, of course, is referring to the famous suicide of the Queen of Carthage triggered when Aeneas leaves her in Book IV. Two books later Dido's shade ignores Aeneas in the underworld (lines 450-76), "perhaps the most telling snub in all poetry" (Eliot 62),<sup>43</sup> as a result. *The Ambassadors* perpetuates this epic moment in Chapter II of Book Twelfth (*N* 6: 401-2) when Madame de Vionnet thanks Strether for never having ignored her throughout his mission, leaving his presence in silence after he has revealed

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<sup>41</sup> See also the note at the bottom of Nowell-Smith's page, which reveals how some readers recommend James's late novels to be read out loud for better understanding.

<sup>42</sup> Smit sees James in his late phase donning different classical garb, more like a "magisterial persona; the artist as an explorer of psychological depths, the artist as *oracle*, the artist James wanted to be" (79; my emphasis).

<sup>43</sup> This episode is an imitation of that in the *Odyssey* where in Hades Ajax's shade also ignores Odysseus, who won Achilles's armor instead of Ajax thus leading to his suicide (XI.541-67).

how insecure she really is (Poole 87). This ability to confer meaning without describing it, the quintessential Jamesian moment, a hallmark trait of the Master (Vidal “Return to ‘The Golden Bowl’”), is very Virgilian according to Poole: “What is not said is also an act or part of one, and writing represents the other sides of utterance and the interval between, the shades and the shadows, James can seem the most shady of writers and hence, in his way, the most imperious” (88). For Poole then, just as Virgil was the mythmaker of Rome’s empire, James was that of America’s.

Some readers note the use of the first person narrator in the very first paragraph of *The Ambassadors* as in many of James’s earlier writings.<sup>44</sup> Employment of such a literary device imitates the *Aeneid*, which, unlike Homer who in the very first line of both the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* asks the muse (Calliope) to sing, begins with Virgil referring to himself rhapsodizing. Moreover, in the second chapter of Book Third, reference is twice made to Clio, the muse of history (*N* 6: 108),<sup>45</sup> implying that the novel is indeed meant to be read aloud in the epic manner.

Another epic technique can be noted at the beginning of almost every chapter, most of which tend to start *in medias res*. *The Ambassadors*’s Book Third Chapter 1 is a good example of James following Horace’s advice as the section begins with Waymarsh at dinner listening to Strether tell him about what had happened earlier in the afternoon when he had visited Chad. The account occupies a little more than half of the chapter’s length (*N* 6: 88-94), after which the action of the plot resumes chronologically with both breakfasting alongside little Bilham the next morning. Books II and III of the *Aeneid* are equally fitting examples of this device in which Aeneas recounts, similarly during a meal (I.657-756; but

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<sup>44</sup> Vaid (127) calls it the “authorial ‘I’” and Vidal (“Return to ‘The Golden Bowl’”) “auctorial/atavistic ‘I’.”

<sup>45</sup> Kventsel unconvincingly tries to equate “the historic muse” with “a revelation of embodied Eros” (48).

at night), his journey from the fall of Troy to his being shipwrecked on the shores of Carthage where he presently is. Therefore, by writing with the oral tradition in mind, creating many “Jamesian moments” modeled on Dido’s snubbing of Aeneas in Hades, employing the authorial/auctorial/atavistic “I” and often beginning *in medias res*, James composed the novel in epic style along lines very similar to that of the highly polished *Aeneid*.

### *Conclusion*

That *The Ambassadors* resembles the *Aeneid*, therefore, has been demonstrated by their proximity in structure, characterization, plot, settings, themes and style. At a further authorial level, Poole notes that James idealized his society (88-9) just as Virgil did his (76). Narrowing the focus to their works, Wolf characterizes the novel as an American version of the European poem (350). In fact, from *The Princess Casamassima* (1885) to *The Golden Bowl* (1904) and even later in his non-fiction, namely his prefaces to the New York Editions (1907-9) and his autobiographies (1913-7), this last critic argues that James is often writing epic in prose form (355-6).

The timing of the *Aeneid* and *The Ambassadors* is significant as well. Virgil wrote his work at the inception of the imperial government in Rome. Although Augustus dressed this new Rome in old Republican clothes, few Romans, not least of which Virgil, knew fully well that the capital had returned to its monarchical roots. When James wrote *The Ambassadors* at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the aggressive advent of American imperialism, as evidenced by the overthrowing of the Hawaiian government in 1893, the Spanish-American War five years later resulting in the annexation of Cuba, Puerto Rico and Guam as well as further operations in Southeast Asia as part of the Philippine-American War (1899-1902), was as obvious to any American then as the Roman imperial system was to

any citizen in Virgil's time. In fact, both nation's histories seemed to be running parallel courses from their very beginnings. Just as the Romans had freed themselves from the tyranny of Lucius Tarquinius Superbus in 509 BC to create a republic, so did the thirteen colonies rebel against George III in 1776; just as constant civil strife from 133 to 30 BC practically brought Rome to its knees, so did the Civil War almost tear the United States apart from 1861 to 1865. History seemed to be repeating itself. As a result, from in the 1870s James became anxious about British imperialism (Torsney "The Political Context of *The Portrait of a Lady*" 87-91), and the Hispanic/Pacific conflicts about two decades later were interpreted as empire having finally arrived at American shores.

But it was the political and military aspect of imperialism that James despised (Edel *Henry James* 4: 231-9; Kaplan 431-6); while the culture that empire produced, quite conversely, he admired. Some of his earliest memories, after all, were from the Paris of the Second French Empire (1852-70), where at "the Louvre – the Louvre of Napoleon, the gallery of Apollo – Henry James found his initiation to Style,<sup>46</sup> [which] remained associated for him thereafter with the pomp of Imperial power" (Edel *Henry James* 1: 72). He revered imperialist aesthetics to such an extent that he wished to emulate them, and who was better suited to show him the way than Dante's own guide? James wrote *The Ambassadors* not just to educate the American populace in matters of social duty, both personal and public, now that the accountability that came with being a superpower was unavoidable, in much the same way as Virgil composed the *Aeneid* partly to instruct Augustus on how to rule (Griffin 57); but also to create an American classic in the mold of

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<sup>46</sup> See page 2 of the Introduction above for the original quotation by James from his autobiography as well as the rest of my Introduction for passing observations on the connection made by him between (primarily Roman) antiquity and France: educationally through such tutors as M. Anstot (20), visually in such cases as Neoclassical painting (2, 8) and literarily from such writers as Mérimée (6-7) and Ste. Beuve (15-6, 22), all culminating in such works as "Gabrielle de Bergerac" (25).

an epic which would place him in the pantheon of great Western writers such as Homer and Milton, thus situating at the same time the United States on the literary map. He knew at the time of writing that his art had sufficiently matured to compare with the likes of these canonical authors – the political and military situation at the time merely brought it all into focus for him.

The start of centuries tends to bring with it a sense of renewal, not unlike the fifth line of Virgil's prophetic fourth *Eclogue*:

a great series of ages is born anew.

Wolf seems to agree when he claims that the novel, written when it was, depicts America receiving and perpetuating its European cultural heritage (357-9). It is not surprising, then, to find similar ideas reappearing almost precisely a further century later, only this time in more overtly political terms. None other than Gore Vidal used the dichotomous Roman language of republic versus empire throughout an interview for the *LA Weekly* in 2002 to articulate the supposedly current decline and inevitable fall of the United States (Cooper), and this is reflected in his heptalogy of novelized histories about America entitled *Narratives of Empire* (1967-2000). Decadence and moral degeneracy are themes about which James also wrote in the classical fashion, but in this case he used the Latin historians as models.

Chapter III: Livy, Tacitus & The Golden Bowl

If *The Ambassadors* implicitly alludes to *translatio imperii et studii*, then Henry James's very next novel, *The Golden Bowl*, explicitly states it<sup>1</sup> from the very beginning:

The Prince had always liked his London, when it had come to him; he was one of the modern Romans who find by the Thames a more convincing image of the truth of the ancient state than any they have left by the Tiber. Brought up on the legend of the City to which the world paid tribute, he recognized in the present London much more than in contemporary Rome the real dimensions of such a case. If it was a question of an *Imperium*, he said to himself, and if one wished, as a Roman, to recover a little the sense of that, the place to do so was on London Bridge, or even, on a fine afternoon in May, at Hyde Park Corner. It was not indeed to either of those places that these grounds of his predilection, after all sufficiently vague, had, at the moment we are concerned with him, guided his steps; he had strayed, simply enough, into Bond Street, where his imagination, working at comparatively short range, caused him now and then to stop before a window in which objects massive and lumpish, in silver and gold, in the forms to which precious stones contribute, or in leather, steel, brass, applied to a hundred uses and abuses, were as tumbled together as if, in the insolence of the Empire, they had been the loot of far-off victories. (*N* 6: 457)

It is no wonder, then, that this opening paragraph (and much of the rest) of the novel reminds Wai Chee Dimock of the *Aeneid*.<sup>2</sup>

*The Ambassadors* and *The Golden Bowl* are not the only works in which James compares modern London to ancient Rome. As early as 1875, the Albert Hall reminded him of "a sort of utilitarian Coliseum" (*CTW* 1: 269). Two years later, he referred to a common near Woolwich where some civil and military cricket games were being played as a "peaceful *campus martius*" (144), an English version of the Martian Camp in Rome. Adeline R. Tintner (*Lust* 7-21) also shows how "The Siege of London" (1883) was written

<sup>1</sup> Arac "Henry James and Edward Said" 235; Delbaere-Garant "Early Seeds" 77; Kventsel 135-6; C. B. Miller 180-2, 191, 193-4, 199.

<sup>2</sup> "Pre-national Time" 220, *Through Other Continents* 92; see also Giles.

with Thomas Couture's painting *The Romans of the Decadence* (1847) in mind.<sup>3</sup> "The Path of Duty" (1884) contains similar Roman impressions of the British capital:

Or is it that London is simply ferocious, and always prefers the spectacle that is more entertaining? As it would prolong the drama for the young man to throw over Miss Bernardstone, there was a considerable readiness to see the poor girl sacrificed. She was like a Christian maiden in the Roman arena. ... I could, of course, do only one thing – I could but re-affirm my conviction that the Roman attitude, as I may call it, was cruel, was falsely sentimental. (*CS* 3: 143)

In the first section of *English Hours* on London (1888), the city is again likened to its ancient equivalent on four occasions (*CTW* 1: 21, 26 [twice], 44), in which the last three comparisons involving Hyde Park remind James again of a Roman amphitheater.

Beyond its capital, the country of England and the British empire, too, are often equated with its classical counterpart. As seen in the first chapter, the Britain of "A Passionate Pilgrim" reminds the narrator of ancient Italy. William L. Vance (*America's Rome* 1: 50-1) argues that the 1878 painting *The Emperor Commodus, Dressed as Hercules, Leaves the Amphitheatre at the Head of the Gladiators* by Edwin Howland Blashfield contributed to *The Princess Casamassima* when Christina Light describes Victorian England as being just as decadent as imperial Rome (*N* 3: 270). In the second chapter on *The Ambassadors*, Chester's ancient walls and the British course of empire were interpreted in equally brutal, Roman terms. This relationship between the ancient and modern imperial capitals peaks in *The Wings of the Dove* (1902), published only a couple of years before *The Golden Bowl*, when Kate Croy depicts her aunt Maud Lowder, who "was London" (*N* 5: 237), as Britannia, the imperial personification of the British isles as well as the name of the ancient Roman province from which Britain derives its name.

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<sup>3</sup> James also mentions the painting in an unsigned review written in 1868 of *Contemporary French Painters* by Philip Gilbert Hamerton (*LC* 1: 1036-7), a letter to his friend Caroline Tilton written on 3 April 1878 (*CLHJ* 1876-8 2: 87) and his autobiographical *A Small Boy and Others* (*Au* 192-3).

In addition to the westward course of empire and culture, then, as these parallels demonstrate, another ancient Roman trope can be found in the works of Henry James, namely that of the myth of Rome. This idea is the ancient Roman manifestation of one of the oldest themes in Western literature, decadence, as most fully articulated by the Latin historians Livy and Tacitus. *The Golden Bowl* is a prominent example of such moral decline with its sharp criticism of both material acquisition and adultery. Although many scholars have read decadence in this novel as well as in other Jamesian writings<sup>4</sup> while Anna Kventsel in particular has noticed some classical references in *The Golden Bowl* specifically along the way, none have explored James's version of the myth of Rome.<sup>5</sup>

As many of them have noted, the theme of decadence can be found as early as *Roderick Hudson* in 1875 and throughout the rest of James's works until *The Golden Bowl* of 1904. The fact that the former is set mainly in Rome and the latter opens with its famous allusion to the Roman empire, while both are littered with other ancient Roman references throughout, as already briefly seen in previous chapters and as will be seen in more detail below, is no mere coincidence. Simply put, James associated decadence with the imperial Romans.

### *The Myth of Rome & the Theme of Decadence*

First, a brief history of the idea of moral decline in the West in order to situate James and *The Golden Bowl* in this tradition seems appropriate. While the theme of

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<sup>4</sup> To list only a few of the major recent ones in English: Auchard; Ellmann; Freedman 202-57; Izzo and O'Hara 55-86, 97-108, 109-22, 167-85; Lukács; Mendelssohn *Henry James, Oscar Wilde and Aesthetic Culture*, "Aestheticism and Decadence;" Tintner *Museum* 129-50.

<sup>5</sup> Tintner *Lust* 7-21 explains decadence in "The Siege of London" only in terms of Couture's painting, never mentioning Livy nor Tacitus. Lyon (153) mentions aestheticism, a mild form of decadence (Mendelssohn "Aestheticism and Decadence;" N. Vance *Victorians* 248), in James within the Roman context, but again no mention of either Latin historian. N. Vance's "Decadence and the subversion of empire" and "Decadence from Belfast to Byzantium" come closest by analyzing the myth of Rome from the 18<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, but without specific mention of James.



decadence has its roots in Greek literature, the historian Polybius (c. 200-118 BC) was the first to set this idea against a Roman background (VI.57.1-9), thus influencing a small number of second century historians from Rome.<sup>6</sup> It would not be until Sallust, however, who in the late 40s BC began to develop this idea by focusing not just on decline resulting from a lack of moral behaviour<sup>7</sup> but also on the initial rise of Rome as a result of the virtuous conduct of the city's earlier citizens who made possible the Mediterranean hegemony of his time (*Cat.* X.1; *Iug.* XLI.1-2). It is this new theme of virtuous behavior that apparently leads to success, Fortuna aside, *together with* the old one of decline due to immorality that defines the myth of Rome.<sup>8</sup>

This new theme had an immediate impact, even beyond historiography, as some poems from Horace testify. From the *Epodes* (XVI.1-10) in the 30s BC through the first publication of the *Odes*<sup>9</sup> in the 20s BC to the last book of *Odes* (IV.15.12-6) in the 10s BC, the myth of Rome often manifests itself. Only this time these manifestations seem to come less from Sallust and more from the first pentad of Livy's history, which was published in the early to mid-20s BC and in which the theme finds its greatest expression.

Livy's monumental 142 volumes of Roman history, of which 35 survive, has understandably had an enormous influence on not just the historiographical but overall literary world since its publication as the various essays in the collection *Livy, His Work and Reception* edited by Eckard Lefèvre and Eckart Olshausen, attest. He almost immediately introduces the thesis in question at the beginning of his preface (4-12), after

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<sup>6</sup> Earl 42-5; Edwards *The Politics of Immorality in Ancient Rome* 177-8; Lintott; Woodman 125, 148 n.24.

<sup>7</sup> *Cat.* X-XIV; *Hist.* Pref. I.11, 12, 16; *Iug.* IV.7-9, XLI-XLII.

<sup>8</sup> Although the idea has been around for over two millennia, recent historians have begun referring to it as the myth of Rome (Bondanella 4; Malamud 3). Chernaik defines it more broadly, however, as "the received tradition of Roman history and Roman values" (5). This dissertation adopts the narrower meaning employed by Bondanella and Malamud.

<sup>9</sup> I.12.33-60; II.15; III.2; III.6.17-20, 33-48.

which his history proper becomes a narrative of chronological examples demonstrating the virtues that helped establish and expand the Roman empire as well as the vices that contributed to the disastrous civil wars of his time.<sup>10</sup>

According to A. J. Woodman (131-2), this idea gained currency throughout literary circles of the ensuing early imperial period as evidenced by the works of such authors as Propertius (c. 50-2 BC), Manilius (early first century AD), Seneca the Younger (c. 4 BC-AD 65), Lucan (AD 39-65)<sup>11</sup> and Petronius (c. AD 27-66), but it was Plutarch (c. AD 50-c. 120) and particularly Tacitus (c. AD 56-118) who became its next torchbearers. Tacitus has been more associated throughout western literary history with the declining half of the myth of Rome for two main reasons. The first is that his histories only cover the imperial period, which includes some of the more degenerate emperors such as Caligula (r. AD 37-41) and Nero (r. AD 54-68). In fact, Tacitus explicitly states that Livy's exciting republican narrative contrasts with the "[accounts] that convey a minimum of pleasure" from his own imperial time (*Ann.* IV.32-3). The second is that the remaining books of Livy cover the period of the republic that is in ascent. Therefore, posterity has received a skewed vision of Roman history whereby the republican form of government is virtuous while imperial one evil (Bondanella 20). As a result, whenever post-classical authors have associated success

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<sup>10</sup> For a thorough study of his methodology, see Chaplin, especially 203-14. Woodman (136-40) adds that this was probably Livy's original plan for his work, which was to end with a total of 120 books, until the death of Cicero, the last true Republican. Books CXXI to CXLII, which end with Augustus's great foreign military victories contain a more positive tone, according to the *Periochae* and Quintilian, as a result of the supposedly successful restoration of the virtues lost since the earlier part of the republican period. Yet, Books XLVI to CXLII do not survive and James would not have been aware of such advanced historiographical theories; and even if he were, these last 21 books are antithetical to the theme of decadence running throughout his work.

<sup>11</sup> The *Pharsalia* was "the epic of the lost Roman republic" (Quint 133) which sympathizes with the defeated republican Pompey in the civil war against the victorious dictator Caesar and "gives back to the vanquished republicans their story of resistance and keeps that story alive in historical memory." In other words, it acts as an anti-*Aeneid*, since Virgil wrote for the new Augustan regime. See also Cherniak 86.

with virtue and failure with immorality, they have tended to do so in ancient Roman terms, and Henry James is firmly planted in this tradition.

Of all these Greek and Latin authors who deal with this theme of decline/myth of Rome, Livy is, as seen below, by far the most represented throughout the Jamesian canon with well over a dozen references. Plutarch is a distant second with only half as many,<sup>12</sup> most of which come from his *Parallel Lives*, which, like Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita*, is more a study of the moral character of the historical individuals rather than a systematic narrative of all their deeds (*Alex.* I). Tacitus, as will also be seen, surprisingly only appears about a handful of times, and the others even less.<sup>13</sup>

Despite being a great lover of Latin literature, St. Augustine (354-430) plays down the Livian explanation for the rise of Rome in his *City of God* (413-26). His praise for the early republican heroes is limited to the secular world whereby they merely helped pave the way for Christianity to establish itself on Earth, thus effectively burying the myth of Rome for almost a millennium (Bondanella 23-5), in preference for the more spiritual values and vices found in the Bible. Although James, along with his aesthetic fondness for Catholicism (and, more specifically, its rituals as opposed to the actual doctrines), does refer to the theologian<sup>14</sup> and his *Confessions* (c. 397-400),<sup>15</sup> there is no evidence of his having read *The City of God*. In any case, even if James did read the later work, the myth of Rome is so

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<sup>12</sup> There are a total of six, from 1869 to 1888. See Lo Dico 8 for four, as well as “high-prowed galleys, draped in purple and silver” (CS 2: 21) in “Professor Fargo” (1874) referring to *Ant.* XXVI, and “I feel as if my sails were filled by celestial zephyrs, & I should be floated directly to the islands of the Blest” in a letter dated 13 January 1877 (CLHJ 1876-8 1: 39) referring to *Sert.* VII-IX. Furthermore, the narrator of *The Golden Bowl* (N 6: 672) compares Maggie to Cornelia (Africana), the virtuous mother of the Gracchi brothers in whose biographies by Plutarch most about her can be found (for all the sources about her see Bauman 228 n.3). There is also one brief mention of her in Tac. *Dial.* XXVIII.6.

<sup>13</sup> Propertius? (CN 64, 67; II.15 in CS 2: 296, 297, 322); Lucan (CTW 1: 57); Sallust (LC 2: 813); Manilius (none); Petronius (none); Seneca (none).

<sup>14</sup> LC 2: 436; CS 2: 157; CTW 1: 729-32.

<sup>15</sup> Martin and Ober “Refurbishing James’s ‘A Light Man’”; LC 2: 260, 265; Mendelssohn “Aestheticism and Decadence” 99; CP 510; Pranger.

prominent in his writings, at least in comparison to other Biblical/religious references, that the Augustinian thesis for the fall of Rome did not make much of an impression on him. Other Christian writers, who also viewed paganism in Roman times, whether republican or imperial, as degenerate (Edwards *Politics* 106-7, esp. n.29), did not have much of an impact on him either; he was on the whole more classical in his outlook than early Christian or medieval.

The myth of Rome would only begin to show signs of revival as late as the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Dante Alighieri (1265-1321), who was disenchanted with the corrupt state of the Catholic church, wrote *De Monarchia* (c. 1312-3), “*On Monarchy*,” in which he reintroduces the secular aspect to this theme of decadence and decline by arguing that temporal and spiritual powers should be divided between the Holy Roman Emperor and the Pope, respectively (III.12-5); in other words, a return to Roman imperial rule (at least in Italy) with the powers divided as they once were between the emperor and the head priest. The vices to be avoided and the virtues to be imitated, now a Roman and Christian mix, are presented in *The Divine Comedy* (c. 1308-21) where, for instance, past popes and Florentines are perpetually punished in the *Inferno* for their corruptive behavior (Canning 150-3). In Canto XXVIII, furthermore, the poet shows knowledge of and respect for “how Livy writes, who does not err” (line 12).

The religious aspect would not be completely removed from the myth of Rome until Petrarch (1304-74). The first to collect the surviving Livian manuscripts (Billanovich), he consequently wrote 23 biographies “*On Illustrious Men*” (1338-9) of which only six were *not* Roman republican figures (Bondanella 29). At the same time he glorified Scipio Africanus, the hero of the second pentad of Livy’s third decade dedicated to the Hannibalic

war, in his epic *Africa* (c. 1338-9) by attempting to contend with Virgil's ideal imperial Roman character of Aeneas (28-9), who is based on Augustus.<sup>16</sup>

His friend, Giovanni Boccaccio (1313-75), may have been the one to discover Tacitus (*Annals* XI-XVI and *Histories* [Reynolds 407-8]), copies of which began to circulate around Italy early the next century (408-9). By the middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, medieval religiosity began to give way to the secularism that defined the Renaissance. It is important to note here that this revival of classical ideals derived mostly from contact with the Latin classics, however, as the Greek texts were only slowly being re-introduced to the West following the fall of Constantinople in 1453. This dichotomy would remain a long Western bias until at least the 19<sup>th</sup> century when, as already noted in the Introduction, Thomas Sergeant Perry confirms in a surviving memo that “[l]ike Shakespeare [James] had less Greek.”

During this time of Italian republics, Niccolò Machiavelli (1469-1527) wrote his magnum opus *Discourses on the First Decade of Titus Livy*. Later, as these free city-states morphed into monarchies, Tacitus, two more of whose manuscripts had by now been found (Reynolds 406-7, 410-1), began to gain currency in not just Italy but the rest of western Europe as well, mostly due to the sound advice he offered in his *Annals* and *Histories* for those under tyrannical rule. This would become the pattern for the rest of Western history, whereby Livy tended to be popular during freer times while Tacitus was consulted under monarchies (Bondanella 66-89).

In 18<sup>th</sup> century Britain, Edward Gibbon (1737-94) published perhaps the most famous exponent of the myth of Rome, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman*

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<sup>16</sup> Erskine-Hill 17-8; Everitt 237; Galinsky 319-21; Griffin 28; Syme *The Roman Revolution* 462-4, 470, 524; Zanker 201-10.

*Empire* in six volumes from 1776 to 1789, claiming decadence to be one of the main reasons for the civilisation's demise. This work was translated in 1812 by François Guizot into French as *Histoire de la décadence et de la chute de l'empire romain*, whereby "Decline" became "décadence." Gibbon's *magnum opus* is therefore considered to be the origin of the Decadent Movement that eventually peaked later in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Rémy de Gourmont in Thornton *Decadent Dilemma* 16-7) with such authors as Charles Baudelaire (passim), Oscar Wilde (passim) and Henry James (31). Since most of the contributors to the myth of Rome have been historians, such as Polybius, Sallust, Livy, Plutarch, Tacitus, Machiavelli, Gibbon and Guizot, some background on James and the discipline of history is warranted.

#### *Jamesian Historiography*

In 1999 John Lyon wrote that Henry James was ignorant of history (143-4), but this seems contrary to much of the scholarship on this issue, most of which appeared before the current century!<sup>17</sup> Tintner in 1987, for instance, notes that James's personal library contained as many books on the genre as it did on imaginative literature (*Book* 165). She also argues (178) that some of the most influential historical writers on the Master were Alexis de Tocqueville (for "An International Episode"), Edward Gibbon (for "Glasses" and *The Wings of the Dove*) and Macaulay (for *The Sense of the Past*). Curiously, one section is about "Imperial Rome and *The Golden Bowl*," occupying barely more than one page (177-8). There is certainly much more to say about this association.

In the title of James's second work of fiction, "The Story of a Year" (1865), one can immediately see him writing in the annalistic tradition. Both Livy and Tacitus wrote in this custom (Tac. *Ann.* IV.32.1). The title of the latter's most famous work *Annals* is post-

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<sup>17</sup> Three of the most important are Bell, Buelens and Tintner *Book*, all published in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century.

classical, being originally called *From the Death of the Divine Augustus*, “which reflects the form of Livy’s *From the Foundation of the City*” (Damon xlii n. 5). Much as James only uses the Civil War as a backdrop to make his point, i.e., the futility of love (and especially romance) during wartime, Livy does not record every event of an account such as war but rather singles out a particular *story* or example from it in order to teach a certain moral. Cynthia Damon makes another interesting observation regarding both historians via this tradition:

In annalistic histories there were also patterns within a year’s narrative, including a regular alternation between affairs at Rome (usually politics) and affairs abroad (usually war). By employing and deforming these fundamental structures of earlier Roman historiography Tacitus makes it clear that (appearances to the contrary) under the principate neither political office nor military conquest was at all comparable to its republican model. (xl)

In the same way, James criticizes not just war but *civil* war in order to demonstrate just how far Americans had already fallen.

In addition to the ancients, Ford’s love interest, Elizabeth Crowe, is reading an historical novel, *Scottish Chiefs* by Jane Porter (CS 1: 35, 967), while in a letter to Thomas Sergeant Perry in 1864 James considers this tale to be a “historiette” (CLHJ 1855-72 1: 96). A story, then, for Henry James was from the very beginning a history of sorts, and the annalistic method provided him with a very viable model, at least at the outset of his career. Although throughout his life he was not afraid to experiment with the way in which he would sometimes tell his tales, they would nevertheless more often than not be approached with the great ancient historians in mind, Livy and Tacitus being two of his favourites.

James’s first visit to Italy in 1869 had a profound effect on him. Being with Italophile Charles Eliot Norton there made him realize how little he knew about the country he adored and its history (165, 244). Rome in particular contained “the perpetual presence

of the past” (201), while further north is “not the clear, light atmosphere of Florence – but an air thick with the presence of invisible ghosts” (202). It was for these reasons that he decided to

read in the evenings of the past week with immense pleasure – pleasure in the simple act of reading – a good thick French 8<sup>vo</sup> on Italian history, & done it far more easily & comfortably than I could have done it in those stupid months last winter before I left home. (218)

His interest in the Italian past grew to such an extent that, writing to his brother William from England the next year, “one of these days I shall be very glad to return there [Italy] and spend a couple of years” (289). Then, to Charles E. Norton,

On the whole I incline to agree with you that I ought to rejoice in not being haunted by these memories of old Italy – I confess that during my last month in the Country I was continually ~~led to~~ struck with the enormous bulk of the still lingering ineradicable past – so that at times I could think with positive cheerfulness of that projected visit of mine, twenty years hence (331).

Of all the histories, that of Rome was James’s favorite. There is no more direct evidence of this fact than that which his travel essays can provide. In one of his *Roman Rides* in 1873, for instance, he thinks about how

[e]very wayward mark of manners, of history, every stamp of the past in the country about Rome, touches my sense to a thrill, and I may thus exaggerate the appeal of very common things. This is the more likely because the appeal seems ever to rise out of heaven knows what depths of ancient trouble. To delight in the aspects of *sentient* ruin might appear a heartless pastime, and the pleasure, I confess, shows the note of perversity. (CTW 2: 441)

These thoughts were the germs of “The Last of the Valerii” and “Adina” published the following year, both stories dealing with newly discovered Roman archaeological artifacts haunting their owners. According to Edel, such “horseback rides long ago in the Campagna had given him [James] an uncanny – and uncomfortable – feeling of ancient empires” (*Henry James* 4: 330), which would certainly explain the gothic and tragic tones of both tales. As for the former short story, Robert Emmet Long believes that it is an allegory that



comes into a dangerous proximity to deep Roman knowledge” (30), and indeed James could not have written anything of the kind until or unless he had a good understanding of and felt such a strong connection to the ancients. As the cleric Hubert Lawrence in *Watch and Ward* claimed of the Eternal City, “If I know anything of the lesson of history (a man of my profession is supposed to), I learned it in that empurpled air!” (*N* 1: 76), referring either to the purple togas worn by the emperors or attempting to capture something of the strange quality of the light in Rome.<sup>18</sup>

Although the ancient period of the Italian capital’s history had the firmest grasp on James’s imagination, he did not ignore its subsequent ages either. Only five years after *Roman Rides* in another travelogue entitled “Very Modern Rome,” the author praises “[t]he charm of Rome, even the historic charm” (*CTW* 2: 760) from antiquity to his day (760-2), a short paean with the names of some historical events and figures sprinkled throughout revealing how knowledgeable he was on the topic already by 1878. As will be seen, *The Golden Bowl* with a modern Roman main character and abundant classical allusions acts as a fictional counterpart of sorts to these Roman travel essays as well as an imaginative rehashing of the Latin histories.

When criticizing *Far from the Madding Crowd* (1874) for its “large amount of conversational and descriptive padding and the use of an ingeniously verbose and redundant style” (*LC* 1: 1045), James reminds the reader that

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<sup>18</sup> Nora Lambert, from the same novel, describes a part of the Pincian in Rome using similar colors: “It was flooded with light, with that tempered Roman glow which seems to be compounded of molten gold and liquid amethyst” (*N* 1: 87). The gold, as in “Daisy Miller,” refers to the Augustan age, for Nora also “like[s] to go to the Ara Coeli” (88), where a figure of Augustus is painted on the arch above the high altar (Lanciani 24) and even mentions the emperor by name on the next page (*N* 1: 89). The location of this church, Santa Maria in Aracoeli, is most probably where the temple of Juno Moneta stood, the area made famous by Livy in his story about the goddess’s sacred geese whose cackling and clapping of their wings when they heard Gauls climbing the Capitoline awoke a Roman officer in time to save the city (V.47).

Mr. [Thomas] Hardy's inexhaustible faculty for spinning smart dialogue makes him forget that dialogue in a story is all but episode, and that a novelist is after all but a historian, thoroughly possessed of certain facts, and bound in some way or other to impart them.

James certainly viewed his own fiction as such, for in "The Chaperon" (1891) the tale is called a "simple history" (CS 3: 848), and in the rough statement for the projected dramatized version, James calls the plot an "*histoire*" (CP 626), while Rose's past "her situation and little history" (632) and her family's "their young [Tacitean?] Annals, their past History" (617).

Like Hardy, Anthony Trollope too is critiqued in July 1883 for not writing more like a historian (LC 1: 1343). This tribute to Trollope (who died in December 1882) inspired Catherine Condit of "The Impressions of a Cousin" (December 1883) to admit "that the history of things interests me, and I find that it is even a greater pleasure to write it than to read it" (CS 2: 709). Only a year after this assessment of Trollope, James wrote *The Art of Fiction* in which from the beginning (only the third paragraph) he uses the English writer again as a negative example to expound his theory that "the novel is history" (LC 1: 45-7).

Indeed, James until the end of his career thought of himself in 1915 "as a veracious historian" (CN 536), mimicking verbatim his own narrator of "Benvolio" four decades previously (CS 2: 110). The narrator of *The Europeans* is also Gertrude's "humble historian" (N 1: 893). In fact, his very last protagonist, the "budding historian" (CN 504) Ralph Pendrel of *The Sense of the Past*, writes *An Essay in Aid of the Reading of History*, which Tintner believes is based on Macaulay's "Essay on History" (Book 178). Even Edel describes James as "an historian" (CP 522). And just like the narrator of "Benvolio," that of "Pandora" (1884) too considers himself a "most philosophic historian" (CS 2: 842), a

Gibbonian phrase applied to Tacitus (1: 87, 129, 212). In this tale, furthermore, Mrs.

Steuben rhetorically asks,

“Do you think anything is really new?” ... “I am very fond of the old; you know that is a weakness of we Southerners.” The poor lady, it will be observed, had another weakness as well. “What we often take to be the new is simply the old under some novel form. Were there not remarkable natures in the past? If you doubt it you should visit the South, where the past still lingers.” (849)

If the narrator of “Pandora” is a philosophical writer of history, then s/he would probably sound like Daisy Miller’s mother, who speaks with an “accent of the dispassionate, if not philosophic, historian with which she always recorded the current incidents of her daughter’s career” (279), not unlike Tacitus did that of the Julio-Claudian emperors purportedly “without anger and bias” (*Ann.* I.1.15). Gore Vidal, too, in his novel *Empire* labels James “the large round brain-crammed head of America’s great historian, wit, dispenser of gloom” (15). It is for these reasons, then, that James did not write historical novels, as one might otherwise have logically concluded; instead, he recorded the lessons of history in his fiction, so there was no need to recount the past because the present was constantly doing that by itself.

This relationship between past and present is important to understanding an author who is often associated with literary realism. For, as James noted in the section on the City of Saint Augustine in his travelogue of Florida in 1907, “the [American] novelists improvise, with the aid of the historians” (*CTW* 1: 730). Two years later in the preface to *The Golden Bowl*, this theory culminated in his comment about the photographs of Alvin Langdon Coburn for the New York Edition: “the small page of history thereby added to my already voluminous, yet on the whole so unabashed, memoranda” (*LC* 2: 1325-6; *N* 6: 436). The purpose of revising his fiction, therefore, was so that it could read more like non-

fiction since the novelist's task and the historian's had during the last decade or so of his art finally merged into one (*LC* 2: 1329-30; *N* 6: 440-1).

In summary, Henry James was as well read in history as he was in any other genre. From the influence of historians, especially those concerned with the theme of decadence and decline, his brand of literary realism can be deduced. Two of the most important of these authors were Livy and Tacitus.

#### *References to Latin Historians in James*

##### **Livy**

Livy was popular in 19<sup>th</sup> century United States (Malamud 39) and, as already noted, at the Academy of Geneva in 1860 James "worried out Virgil and Tite-Live with M. Verchère" (*Au* 243). Although the historian was certainly read by many Victorians as well (N. Vance *Victorians* 43, 50, 63-71), his prose was not committed to memory by schoolboys like the verses of Horace and Virgil were, both of whom were by far the most quoted Latin writers in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (128), and, along with Homer, the most popular classical authors (176). Nevertheless, Livian allusions too can be found throughout the Jamesian canon.

In 1869 James made his first trip to Italy where he was experiencing an acute case of constipation. By October he had travelled as far south as Florence, but his health had deteriorated to such an extent that he was seriously considering returning to England. In a letter to his father he wrote:

In leaving Italy now I shall be doing I think, the hardest thing I ever did. But I don't see that any other way is open to me. To be at the very gates of Rome & to turn away ÷ requires certainly a strong muscular effort. (*CLHJ* 1855-72 2: 161)

A strength much like that of Hannibal's, who, according to Book XXVI of *Ab Urbe Condita* (10-1), was literally before the gates of the Italian capital but never passed their threshold; no doubt a great disappointment to the Carthaginian general as well.

James, on the other hand, eventually did, and in another letter, this time to his sister Alice dated a couple of weeks later, Sunday 7 November, he writes,

All the roman [sic] ~~busts~~ portraits<sup>[^]</sup> give me a deep desire to plunge in to roman [sic] history – so that yesterday I narrowly escaped paying 22 fr[anc]s. for an English publication on the subject. But to approach it, you must have a Roman will. (CLHJ 1855-72 2: 178)

It took him only one day to find his, for later in the same letter, dated Monday the 8<sup>th</sup>, he resolved to

betake myself to Florence & settle there for the winter. There, with books & photos., [sic] in a sunny room on that divine Lung Arno, I should study Italian art & history. (180)

The product of this trip, and such apparent studies, was “Travelling Companions” (1870), whose reference to three Roman authors, not by name but by their natal cities, one of which is Livy's Padua (CS 1: 506),<sup>19</sup> has already been discussed in the first chapter.

When James visited Canada soon after in 1871, he describes Quebec City in his travel essay “Quebec” as “the city *intra muros*” (CTW 1: 767), a phrase that occurs 38 times in classical Latin, thirteen of which are found in Livy,<sup>20</sup> by far the most frequent of all.<sup>21</sup> Since he was fascinated by western European towns in what had once been the heartland of ancient Rome, such a reminiscence of the historian who wrote about the city of

<sup>19</sup> See Quint. *Inst.* I.5.56, VIII I.3 for Livy's hometown of Patavium.

<sup>20</sup> These and later figures are derived from the Greek and Latin texts published on CD-ROM by the Packard Humanities Institute and Thesaurus Linguae Graecae via the search tool Diogenes (version 3.1.5).

<sup>21</sup> *The Minor Declamations Ascribed to Quintilian* are a distant second with only three usages of the expression (CCXLVI.7, CCLIII.4, CCCXXI.18), which there is no evidence that James ever read. Horace uses it once (*Epist.* I.2.16) as does Virgil (*Aen.* II.33).

Rome from its beginnings is unsurprising. About the Canadian city James continues this historical paradigm:

we find a hundred mementoes of an older civilization than our own, of different manners, of social forces once mighty, and still glowing with a sort of autumnal warmth. The old-world needs which created the dark-walled cities of France and Italy seem to reverberate faintly in the steep and narrow and Catholic streets of Quebec. (CTW 1: 776)

The ramparts, too, reminded him of the British (and not the French) empire (770-1). He, therefore, fresh from his European trip, was already viewing North America as a product of *translatio imperii*, an interpretation by which Livy contributed in terms of language and imagery, both of which surface in James's fiction and non-fiction.

There is a curious passage in *Watch and Ward*, published that same year. Returning from abroad, Roger Lawrence decides to redecorate his home:

His idea led him to prefer, in all things, the fresh and graceful to the grave and formal, and to *wage war* throughout his *old dwelling on the lurking mustiness of the past*. He had a lively regard for elegance, balanced by *a horror of wanton luxury*. (N 1: 32; my emphasis)

The military, historical and moral language strongly reflects James's reading of *Ab Urbe Condita* at the time. Furthermore, in a later chapter, Roger's cousin Hubert voices Livy's main message of civic duty: "What society cares for in a man is not his household virtues, but his worldly ones" (97).

Having returned to Europe the following year, James visited Italy twice more. On his second visit in 1873, he stopped by Cortona (CLHJ 1872-6 1: lxviii) where, according to his travelogue "A Chain of Cities" (CTW 2: 508-9), he paused for a moment by "Lake Thrasymene, turned into a witching word forever by Hannibal's recorded victory over Rome." There are only two surviving records of this (in)famous ambush against the consul

Gaius Flaminius; one is by Polybius (III.80-6), of whom there is no direct evidence that James read, and the other by Livy (XXII.4-6).<sup>22</sup>

In 1874 the tale “The Last of the Valerii” was published in which one of the main characters is called Count Camillo Valerio, a Roman of old aristocratic origins, who becomes obsessed with a bust of Juno unearthed from his “paternal estate, a villa within the walls of Rome” (CS 1: 799). The count’s last name comes from the tomb of the Valerius clan that James visited in 1873 (CTW 2: 474), while the first name probably derives from Marcus Furius Camillus, the famous dictator who prayed to Juno for his eventually successful siege of Veii in 396 BC, after which he set up a temple to the Veientan Juno Regina on the Aventine Hill in Rome by looting her statue from the conquered territory (Livy V.22.3-7). Camillus defeated the Veientes with a minimum amount of bloodshed, a trait that seems to surface in the Count’s personality with his “unimpassioned intensity of feeling which promised well for [his wife] Martha’s happiness” (CS 1: 798). This war is described in Plutarch’s biography of the general too, but without many of the details such as Camillus’s prayers to the deity as well as his benign character during that conquest (*Cam.* II-VI), suggesting that James was following Livy’s account when creating his protagonist.

In 1885 James revised the tale and reprinted it in the collection *Stories Revived* (Albers 434). The most significant revision was the count’s first name: from Camillo to Marco. As a result of this minor but ingenious alteration, James was able to keep the character connected to Camillus whose praenomen was also Marcus, while additionally associating him with Marcus Valerius Messalla Corvinus (64 BC-AD 8), to whom there are

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<sup>22</sup> Livy is heavily dependent on the Greek historian for much of what happened during and between all three Punic Wars (264-146 BC), as the seminal study on the topic *Livius und Polybios* by Hermann Tränkle testifies. There is an English translation of the lecture that predates this study, including an updated bibliography on the relationship between Polybius and Livy, in Chaplin and Kraus 476-95.

two further similarities. First, both own a villa in Rome, Marcus Valerius being the proprietor of a house on the Palatine (Cass. Dio LIII.27.5) as well as the Gardens of Lucullus on the Pincian (*CIL* VI.29789). Second, he was an accomplished orator (Osgood *passim*),<sup>23</sup> something like the count whose

powerful voice was the least bit harsh, and his large, ceremonious reply to my [the narrator's] compliment had the massive sonority with which civil speeches must have been uttered in the age of Augustus. (*CS* 1: 799)

Moreover, with respect to the count's disposition resembling that of Camillus's, there was also another Marcus Valerius, the famous consul in 348, 346, 343, 335 and perhaps 300 and 299 BC as well, Corvus, an ancestor of Messalla Corvinus, who is described by Livy as being kind as well (VII.33.1-4, 40). When the Count advises his wife, who is excavating their grounds for antiquities, to "[l]et them lie, the poor disinherited gods, the Minerva, the Apollo, the Ceres you are so sure of finding" (*CS* 1: 806), another descendant of Corvus, Marcus Valerius Laevinus, consul in 210 BC, is evoked. In 205 BC this general headed the embassy, which also consisted of a Marcus Valerius Falto and which also stopped by the oracle of Apollo at Delphi, that brought to Rome the sacred black stone of Cybele (Livy XXIX.10.4-11.8), whom the Greeks associated with Demeter, the equivalent of the Roman Ceres. Indeed, a German archaeologist believes that the statue found on the count's property "is, in my opinion, much more likely to be a certain Proserpine" (*CS* 1: 811), the daughter of Ceres. This example of Laevinus's philhellenism is thus commemorated at the very end when a visitor asks the Count whether the hand from the Juno statue that he still keeps is "a Roman?" to which he replies in the negative, "A Greek" (827). In order to add

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<sup>23</sup> He also patronized Tibullus and other Augustan poets, and was Horace's friend (*Odes* III.21); see *Sat.* I.10.27-30 for a comment by Horace on Messalla's rhetoric.



profundity and prestige to the Count's Valerian heritage, James, even in the 1880s, continued to employ Livy in an effort to expand and deepen his art.

A year after "The Last of the Valerii" was first published, *Roderick Hudson* (1875) appeared. In this novel, Rowland Mallet complains about Augusta Blanchard quoting passages from *Paul Fane* (1856) by Nathaniel Parker Willis (Goodman) among the ruins of Veii (*N* 1: 239).<sup>24</sup> Although some characters visit Rome in *Paul Fane*, the only classical sites mentioned are the Colosseum (331) and Faesulae (modern Fiesole; 44), near Florence. Since Livy surfaces in James's writings annually from 1869 to 1878, as will continue to be seen, and James very most probably read the historian's account of the war against Veii (V.1-22) as "The Last of the Valerii" of only the previous year suggests, then it follows that this additional Veientan imagery is Livian. Again, it is possible that James may have followed chapters II to VI of Plutarch's *Life of Camillus*, but Livy's fuller account of the hostilities between Rome and Veii are often the standard source, Plutarch himself having used it for his biography.

In Chapter VIII Roderick Hudson "has just been spending a month at Naples – a city where 'pleasure' is actively cultivated – in very bad company" (*N* 1: 359); i.e., with Christina Light, who had "packed him off to Naples to drown his sorrow in debauchery" (360). Just 25 kilometres further north is Capua, "a city always prone to luxury" (Livy XXIII.4.4), where Hannibal camped his army one winter after a brilliant string of victories, only to leave it the following spring depraved, having indulged themselves excessively in sleep, wine and other sensual pleasures (18, 45). Like the Carthaginians, Roderick, after the successful start to his career in Rome, returns from his Campanian sojourn inspired only to

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<sup>24</sup> In the archaeological zone of Veii there stands the Villa of Livia, the wife of Augustus, also known as Augusta, like Blanchard.

sculpt a *lazzarone* (N 1: 361), a homeless idler often found dozing around the streets of Naples, which Mr. Leavenworth mistakes for “Something in the style of the Dying Gladiator?” the famous Roman copy of a Hellenistic statue in the Capitoline Museum, a foreshadowing of the sculptor’s own eventual death (509-10).<sup>25</sup> Also in the same spirit as Hannibal’s men, Roderick is found by his visiting family at the end of the chapter intoxicated and spiraling out of control (376). It is no coincidence that Mr. Leavenworth had recommended earlier that he make “[a] Bacchus” (Greek Dionysus; 362), the god of wine. What is more, in the middle of the same chapter, Rowland describes Roderick’s descent into decadence in Virgilian terms already discussed, “the *descensus Averno*” (371), Avernus being a deep volcanic crater (now a lake) just west of Naples, which allegedly led to the Underworld, again presaging the artist’s demise. As in “Daisy Miller,” James utilizes the setting (in this case Campania), classical art and Augustan literature (Livy and Virgil here) together to intensify the plight of his protagonist on a grandiose scale.

Finally, in the next chapter of this novel, Mrs. Hudson brags about winning

a medal, with a pink ribbon, for ‘proficiency in Ancient History’ – the seven kings, or is it the seven hills? and Quintus Curtius and Julius Caesar and – and that period, you know. I believe I have my medal somewhere in a drawer, now, but I have forgotten all about the kings. (380)

There were many *Quinti Curtii* in Roman history, and Quintus was a popular praenomen in the *gens Curtia*, perhaps the most famous being Q. Curtius Rufus, the rhetorician and historian of Alexander the Great. There were also a Mettius Curtius (Livy I.12.2-3.5) and a Marcus Curtius (VII.6.1-6), both of whom are tentatively connected to the aetiological

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<sup>25</sup> This sculpture is now considered to be a Gaul fallen in battle (N. Vance *Victorians* 209, 214). It reappears in *The Portrait of a Lady* next to which Lord Warburton is standing hinting at his failure to win Isabel Archer’s love (Long 108-9).

myth of Lacus Curtius as presented, yet again, in the first decade of the *Ab Urbe Condita*.<sup>26</sup> Livy's uncertainty about after whom the lake is named may be reflected in Mrs. Hudson's own muddle.

Hannibal once more enters very briefly in the review "The Minor French Novelists" of 1876 when James writes no more than two sentences about Gustave Flaubert's *Salammbô*, whose title character he notes is "the elder sister of Hannibal" (*LC* 2: 168). Flaubert used the first book of Polybius's *Histories* as the background for his novel, and Livy's heavy dependence on the Greek historian is very well documented, as already discussed. Despite being a mere passing reference, it may nevertheless have kept the great enemy of Rome, and by extension Livy, in James's psyche, for the Carthaginian general resurfaces only two years later in "Daisy Miller."

When Valentin of *The American* (1876-7) postulates that should Noémie Nioche lose her virginity to a rich man in order to marry him, her father "will not do what Virginius did" (*N* 1: 658). Not having read the third of Lord Thomas Babington Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome*, Christopher Newman replies, "I don't know what Virginius did, but M. Nioche will shoot Miss Noémie." This story is used for comic effect because what Virginius did was, indeed, to kill his daughter when he tried to save her from the lust of a magistrate, the originally story told in Livy III.44-8. Also, in Chapter XXII, Newman suspects that "luxury is corrupting" (808), an important theme throughout all of Livy. Finally, Claire de Cintré is often likened to a Vestal Virgin with constant references to sacred fire and being buried alive, the latter feature of which derives from Livy (VIII.15.8; XXII.57.2) and his epitomizer Festus (277L).

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<sup>26</sup> See Oakley 2: 96-100 for all the sources of the stories connected to Lake Curtius, most of which are minor and obscure, the most likely to be read by James therefore being Livy's.

“Lady Barberina” (1884) is the first Jamesian work of fiction whereby a male American marries European royalty and not the usual well-born but impoverished European man looking for an American heiress. This reversal is emphasized through the use of Roman imagery in which two passages from Augustan historians play a major role. One more generically Roman example is how the European, and not the American as is more often the case (see below), is now likened to a barbarian, the title of the tale further accentuating this novelty by later becoming “Lady Barbarina” in the New York Edition (1907-9).<sup>27</sup> Another more specifically Augustan instance is when the expatriate Americans Mr. and Mrs. Freer gossip with Dr. Feeder about the blossoming union of fellow compatriot Jackson Lemon and the English aristocrat Lady Barberina, who are riding horses at Hyde Park one day, and Mrs. Freer “remembered how large their contribution had been to the virtue and culture of Cincinnati” (CS 2: 731). The Ohioan city is named after the selfless and civic-minded Roman general Lucius Quin(c)tius Cincinnatus who, according to Livy (III.25-9) and Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ant. Rom.* X.23-5),<sup>28</sup> being called from his land to be appointed dictator, defeated the fierce Aequi in only 15 or 16 days, after which he immediately laid down his office (having accepted it at first for half a year), triumphed and returned home. He was often used as a way to dignify and flatter George Washington himself as well (Wills). *Cincinnatus*, also, means “having the hair curled or in ringlets” (OLD 1: 345), much like Dexter Freer who “brushed his hair, which was streaked with white, forward over his ears, in those locks which are represented in the portraits of clean-shaven gentlemen” (CS 2: 724). But Mr. Dexter is not the only one associated with the

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<sup>27</sup> Berland 29; Horrell 215; Tintner (*Book* 109) and Wilkinson-Dekhuijzen (335) believe that this change was intentional and therefore not due to typographical carelessness.

<sup>28</sup> There is no other evidence that James read the Greek historian Dionysius, whose *Roman Antiquities* one modern historian describes as “well worth having in addition to Livy” (Bowersock 646), implying a preference for his more popular and famous Latin counterpart.

Roman for, like Cincinnatus, who is presented with horses and rides one of them into battle, Jackson Lemon too is introduced on horseback (732). The dictator also appoints the patrician Lucius Tarquinius as his assistant Master of Horse, in charge of the mounted troops, and Lemon makes the aristocratic Lady Barb his partner, whose nickname reminds Tintner of the Barbary steed (*Book* 103-18). What is more, just as Cincinnatus swiftly accomplishes his mission and returns to his plough, so does Jackson Lemon soon make Lady Barberina his wife and move back to America. Finally, the first glimpse of the married couple occurs “more than six months after his [Jackson’s] marriage” (*CS* 2: 782), about the same duration that the dictatorship was to last when originally conferred on Cincinnatus. “Lady Barberina,” then, is a pivotal work in Jamesian fiction because it represents *translatio imperii* in its clearest manifestation, the westward shift of power from Europe to the United States whereby Americans were becoming evermore empowered while the Europeans were gradually being relegated to the status of second fiddle or less, and James uses Livy once more to help him achieve this effect.

Hannibal, who although he does appear in the works of other classical authors, such as Polybius and Horace, as already seen, has been immortalized by Livy. Besides “The Lesson of the Master” (1888) which has been discussed in the first chapter above, another very Hannibalic, and thus by extension Livian, work is “The Solution” (1889). Set in Rome and the surrounding Campagna region where some of the more memorable events of the Second Punic War took place, the setting’s historical, especially ancient, resonances are often mentioned by the unnamed narrator (*CS* 3: 664, 706), namely the classical statuary (665, 669, 673, 681, 683, 693), the Pincian Hill (665, 678, 680), barbarism (666), aqueducts (666, 686), the River Tiber (676, 678, 680), the castle of St. Angelo (which was Hadrian’s mausoleum; 678) and the Appian Way (686). A party spends an afternoon at Monte Cavo

(674-5, 690, 691), haunted by “the ghosts of dead sentries” (674), in a region known as Camps of Hannibal, named as such for being the location where the Carthaginian general camped with his elephants on his march toward Rome (Murray 264, 498). Moreover, the narrator recalls how his “chief had crossed the Alps” (CS 3: 671), how his French friend, Guy de Montaut, humorously “attempts to treat him [Henry Wilmerding, the butt of their joke] as a great conqueror” (678), and how the American Minister is also a general (707, 711). Despite being a tale of manners, it is written in the spirit of Livy’s history, which was mainly political and military in scope, with legal (668-9, 671, 707) and martial (710) language being employed to describe otherwise social situations, such as characters who are likened to barbarians on two further occasions (666, 680). It is, therefore, quite clear that James had the third decade of *Ab Urbe Condita*, which covers the Hannibalic War, in mind when composing this short story. Even if Livy’s narrative was triggered by James’s consulting his Murray guidebook, the fact remains that he had read the historian in his youth and again during the 1870s, thus incorporating such readings into “The Solution” to great effect.

Only one year after “The Chaperon” (1891), which also contains Hannibalic references as seen in Chapter I above, “Owen Wingrave” (1892) the title character, an army trainee, “did a lot of reading about all the great swells and their campaigns – Hannibal and Julius Caesar, Marlborough and Frederick and Bonaparte” (CS 4: 267). This passage is only a passing reference to the Carthaginian general, but it is nevertheless tempting to assume that at least one of Wingrave’s readings is Livy, since the author himself “did a lot of” those very readings in his own school days in Switzerland as well as, presumably, in the 1870s.

In *The Outcry*, both the play (1909) and novel (1911), Lady Grace's father owns a small private collection of paintings, one of which she believes is an original by Peter Paul Rubens. When art critic Hugh Crimble informs her that it is a fake, she fears that he will expose her. Since he is more interested in her rare Mantovano, Crimble reassures her that he will not mention anything about the Reubens, but will nevertheless “only hold it *in terrorem*” (CP 779; N 6: 1042). The Latin phrase is a legal term meaning “in order to terrorize” (N 6: 1196), appearing very rarely in Latin literature, one occurrence being in Livy XXXIV.28.3.

In the end, as with Horace and Virgil, Henry James read, understood and incorporated Livy into both his fiction and non-fiction throughout his life and career. The Augustan historian, however, only represents the first half of the so-called myth of Rome, namely the successful rise during the Republican age when the Romans were ostensibly more virtuous. This is particularly the case because only the earlier books of *Ab Urbe Condita* have survived. The second half of this trope, dealing with the perceived decline in morals that apparently contributed to the loss of the republican form of government which in turn resulted in the establishment of the tyrannically imperial one, is associated more closely with Tacitus, whose main historical works span the first century of the empire *per se*.

### **Tacitus**

There are fewer Tacitean references in James. The first can be found in “Gabrielle de Bergerac” (1869) set in pre-Revolutionary France, “the place where the highest refinement of manners was combined with the greatest social tyranny and injustice” (Delbaere-Garant *France* 229), not unlike that of Tacitus's Rome. Ancient Roman political influences on the French Revolution were strong (N. Vance *Victorians* 24-6) since “[a]

rather narrow range of Roman history and Latin literature had dominated the education of most of the French revolutionaries.” Coquelin was one of these men, and for them “[i]t was not difficult to regard early Roman history as morally and politically exemplary since that was the project of the best-known Roman historians, Livy and Tacitus” (24).

The Tacitean allusions in the disapprovingly dictatorial language of the third chapter of “Daisy Miller” (1878) have already been suggested. The likelihood of this association becomes strengthened when one of James’s *London Notes*, penned on 3 March 1897 but published in *Harper’s Weekly* later that month, groups the imperial historian with Shakespeare, Shelley and Macaulay as being one of the more exciting authors (*LC* 1: 1395), thus confirming his having read the ancient.<sup>29</sup> Four years later, in the first part of *The Saint’s Afternoon and Others* (1901), James published his visit to Capri, “[b]eautiful, horrible, haunted: that is the essence of what, about itself, Capri says to you – dip again into your Tacitus and see why” (*CTW* 2: 601), at which point he begins to recall briefly some episodes from the first six books of the *Annals*, which together comprise of the reign of Tiberius, Augustus’s successor.

He probably read the *Agricola* (AD 98) too as a passage from *The Golden Bowl* suggests. Book Fifth opens with Fanny Assingham being pleased with her involvement thus far in her friend Maggie Verver’s affairs, namely for breaking the cracked golden bowl two chapters previously in her friend’s London home (*N* 6: 854), whose symbolism prompted Maggie to confront her husband about his affair with Charlotte Stant:

She [Fanny] knew accordingly nothing but harmony, she diffused restlessly nothing but peace – an extravagant expressive aggressive peace, not incongruous after all

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<sup>29</sup> In a letter to Henry written from Rome in December of the same year, his brother William writes that his wife “Alice has been reading Tacitus – a good deal of it aloud, in [E]nglish. Incredible horrors of cruelty” (*W. James* 3: 151).



with the solid calm of the place; a kind of helmeted trident-shaking *pax Britannica*.  
(873)

To personify her as the British empire is one thing, but to do so in Roman terms (hence the Latin usage, as is also done in *The Wings of the Dove*, above), is quite another. The sardonic, paradoxical deployment of these terms are more specifically Tacitean, for at the end of the thirtieth chapter of the *Agricola*, Calgacus, the Caledonian (i.e., ancient Scottish) leader, gives a speech before the Battle of Mons Graupius in AD 83, concluding it with the infamous criticism of the Romans' violent foreign policy: "they make a desert, [and] call it peace" (6). The British setting along with Fanny's somewhat forceful action for the sake of resolution renders the use of this ancient image very apt. In fact, only a few pages later, this military metaphor is expanded as she continues to aid her ally Maggie:

She stood there, in her full uniform, like some small erect commander of a siege, an anxious captain who has suddenly got news, replete with importance for him, of agitation, of division within the place. This importance breathed upon her comrade.  
(N 6: 877)

James, therefore, knew and included Tacitus in his writings as he did Livy.

#### *Classical References in The Golden Bowl & Its Setting*

*The Golden Bowl* particularly abounds in such war-like and diplomatic imagery, the opening of Book Third being an excellent example (621, 626, 630, 632-3), much of which, as just seen with Tacitus, stretches as far back as antiquity. At the beginning of this chapter is the imperialistic likening of modern London to ancient Rome from the very first paragraph of the novel. So frequently do such allusions appear that this first one should be seen as setting the tone for the entire work rather than as the exception that Tintner portrays it to be in her brief observation on the association between this novel and the Roman empire mentioned earlier.

In fact, before James's story even begins, classical references are found in the preface to the New York Edition. He describes his demanding work as that of a gladiator's whereby they must both strive to please their audience (*LC* 2: 1323; *N* 6: 434). A few pages later there is an interesting mix of military metaphor and Neoplatonism:

No march, accordingly, I was soon enough aware, could possibly be more confident and free than this infinitely interesting and amusing *act* of re-appropriation; shaking off all shackles of theory, unattended, as was speedily to appear, with humiliating uncertainties, and almost as enlivening, or at least as momentous, as, to a philosophic mind, a sudden large apprehension of the Absolute. What indeed could be more delightful than to enjoy a sense of the absolute in such easy conditions?

Yet the most sustained parallel is, like its predecessor *The Ambassadors*, that to epic from the very first paragraph of the preface, where the author likens himself to a rhapsodist of sorts, "the chanter of the ballad (whatever we may call him)" (*LC* 2: 1323; *N* 6: 434) with his "note of his song." He elaborates on this idea shortly afterwards deploying more of the same language (*LC* 2: 1333-4; *N* 6: 444), where the "poet" is to be viewed in a more general sense; i.e., as a writer of fiction, for James uses the word "'poetry' – to apply that term in its largest literary sense" (*LC* 2: 1339; *N* 6: 449) to mean "imaged prose."

He refers to *The Golden Bowl* more specifically, it should be recalled, as a "history" written by an "historian" whose "art is nothing if not exemplary" (*LC* 2: 1341; *N* 6: 451). This philosophy recalls Livy's own preface, while the myths and legends of the very first pentad of *Ab Urbe Condita* are just as *historical* as James's "imaged prose." Prince Amerigo, after all, is "brought up on the legend of the City to which the world paid tribute," as only the second sentence of the novel reads, James's own tactful "tribute" to Livy.

The novel, of course, can only open on an "August afternoon," the month named after the first emperor of Rome, and it remains August until the end of Chapter IV (498,

507). In just the second paragraph of the novel, Trafalgar Square is described as that “view of the lions” (458), referring to the four statues of the animals guarding the Corinthian column with Horatio Nelson at the top. The lions remind one of an amphitheatre, foreshadowing near-mortal danger, the perilous game of adultery that the Prince and Charlotte will play. In the very first conversation of the book Amerigo and Maggie discuss history (461-2), during which the latter informs her betrothed that her interest in him is to a large degree based on his native city’s past: “‘Where, therefore,’ – she had put it to him again – ‘without your archives, annals, infamies, would you have been?’” (461). It is tempting to attach authors to these three historical genres, namely Cicero, Tacitus and Machiavelli, respectively: the first because *tabulae publicae*, or “archives” in Latin, appears by far the most often in the statesman’s writings;<sup>30</sup> the second for the historian’s most famous work, the *Annals*, and the third for the political theorist’s controversial *Prince* after which the first volume of *The Golden Bowl* is named (Peyser 141), the second being *The Princess*. The Prince, of course, “knew his antenatal history, knew it in every detail” (N 6: 466). In fact, “his Roman cousin,” is called, “Don Ottavio” (467), the Italian version of Octavian/Augustus’s original name, Gaius Octavius, “don” being an honorific title, much like “Augustus” was. But Maggie does not know the capital’s history, and thus decides to pick up a volume as “one’s reading for the trip” (465). Stuart Burrows has suggested that this reading is Machiavelli’s *Prince* (107), but it could just as well be Tacitus or even Livy, as it was for Owen Wingrave and James himself.

The second chapter opens with another Augustan reference. Discussing his family with Fanny Assingham, the Prince explains that

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<sup>30</sup> Of the 54 identified occurrences in Latin literature of *tabulae publicae* in its various declensions, both singular and plural, 33 are from Cicero. The closest second is Justinian’s *Digest* with only five. It also appears in Livy (VI.27.6, XXVI.36.11, XXIX.37.7; *Per.* LVII) and Tacitus (*Ann.* XIII.28.2, 3).

We're very simple folk, mere country cousins compared with you, [...] and Paris, for my sister and her husband, is the end of the world. London therefore will be more or less another planet. (*N 6: 472*)

This description of northern Europe from the perspective of his Roman relatives is reminiscent of the various references to the distance of Britain from Rome by Horace already mentioned in the first chapter of this dissertation and of *ultima Thule* from the *Georgics* discussed in the second on Virgil.<sup>31</sup> The latter poet, in fact, reappears in the very next page, when Prince Amerigo asks Fanny for help not unlike Aeneas's desperation when confronted with the ghost of his wife Creusa before burning Troy and ready to set sail (*Aen.* II.768-804), for the momentous life-voyage is in a sense archetypal and the *Aeneid* provides a good example of it and one familiar to James:

I'm starting on the great voyage – across the unknown sea; my ship's all rigged and appointed, the cargo's stowed away and the company complete. But what seems the matter with me is that I can't sail alone; my ship must be one of a pair, must have, in the waste of waters, a – what do you call it? – a consort. I don't ask you to stay on board with me, but I must keep your sail in sight for orientation. I don't in the least myself know, I assure you, the points of the compass. But with a lead I can perfectly follow. You *must* be my lead. [...] Why from your having brought me safely thus far. I should never have got here without you. You've provided the ship itself, and if you've not quite seen me aboard you've attended me ever so kindly to the dock. Your own vessel is all conveniently in the next berth, and you can't desert me now. (*N 6: 473*)

Just as Creusa's ghost did, Fanny refuses him, to which the Prince responds in concert with the epic poem: "You talk about rest – it's too selfish! – when you're just launching me on adventures?"

The Prince continues complaining on the following page of her abandoning him by using another Roman allusion: "– you're washing your hands of me" (*N 6: 474*), a clear reference to the prefect of the province of Judaea, Pontius Pilate, who publicly absolved

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<sup>31</sup> According to R. Mayer, "[p]oets from Catullus (11.11-2) on enjoyed stressing the remoteness of Britain" (Horace *Odes Book I* 214). Some more Augustan examples are Prop. II.1.76, 27.5 and Virg. *Ecl.* I.66.

himself of the condemnation of Jesus Christ by ceremoniously cleaning his hands in the gospel according to *Matthew* (XXVII.24).<sup>32</sup> Fanny at this point is exasperated, exclaiming, “Oh you deep old Italians!” (475), referring to his Roman ancestry. The Prince then proceeds to talk about the morality of “our poor dear backward old Rome” (476) to which Fanny likens him to “Machiavelli!” Kventsel (136) and Torsney (“Prince Amerigo’s Borgia Heritage” 128) believe that Livy’s Renaissance commentator is very much at the front of James’s mind for the exclamation helps to link Amerigo with the Renaissance prince Cesare Borgia, who served as Machiavelli’s model for *The Prince* and whose father was a pope, Alexander VI, as is one of Amerigo’s ancestors (*N* 6: 461-2, 469; Torsney “Prince Amerigo’s Borgia Heritage”). Furthermore, Charlotte is likened to Lucrezia Borgia (Torsney “Prince Amerigo’s Borgia Heritage” 128) and by extension cantarella, the poison allegedly used by her family to eliminate their political opponents (*N* 6: 587-8). The Borgia cup surfaces only once more, in the biography of the American sculptor William Wetmore Story (*WWS* 1: 329), which was published the year just before *The Golden Bowl*. Maggie, furthermore, may be based on James’s friend, Edith Story, the daughter of the sculptor, who married the retired Florentine soldier Commendatore (Knight Commander) Simone Peruzzi, a descendant of the Medicis.<sup>33</sup>

Livy himself, in the meantime, is not far away from James’s thoughts. During a pause in the conversation, the focus shifts to Fanny and her English husband Colonel Robert Assingham, another military man,

who in his military years had “run” everything in his regiment [and] could make economy blossom like the rose. Colonel Bob had, a few years after his marriage, left the army, which had clearly by that time done its laudable all for the enrichment

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<sup>32</sup> This reference is found six other times in James: *CN* 477; *CP* 316; *CS* 1: 261, 3: 721, 5: 474; *N* 1: 618.

<sup>33</sup> *CLHJ* 1855-72 2: 223, 1872-6 2: 253; *WWS* 2: 264.

of his personal experience, and he could thus give his whole time to the gardening in question. (*N* 6: 479)

As in “Lady Barberina,” this description invokes Cincinnatus again. Their marriage, then, is “a legend, almost too venerable for historical criticism,” not unlike one of the many legends in the first pentad of *Ab Urbe Condita*. After having resumed their discussion, the Prince’s very face is described as “a Roman palace, of an historic front by one of the great old designers, thrown open on a feast-day to the golden air” (483), while the rest of him is “a beautiful personal presence, that of a prince in very truth, a ruler, warrior, patron, lighting up brave architecture and diffusing the sense of a function.” James is certainly conjuring Renaissance images together with those of antiquity, especially its Roman half, which had inspired the Renaissance. The whole gambit of Roman history is thus employed in the novel.

In the next chapter, it is Charlotte’s turn to be classically introduced. Her “sylvan head of a huntress” (486) recalls Diana, and “[i]f when she moved off she looked like a huntress, she looked when she came nearer like his notion, perhaps not wholly correct, of a muse.” (487) Furthermore, she speaks the closest modern equivalent to Latin so well that the Prince “had more than once felt in noting on her lips that rarest, among Barbarians, of all civil graces, a perfect felicity in the use of Italian” (492), for which she has an “almost mystifying instinct” that later makes her seem to him “more than Roman” (687). Finally, and perhaps less classical and more religious but having nevertheless taken place in Roman times, is a reference to the crucifixion of Christ. For when Charlotte asks Prince Amerigo whether his wedding is on Friday or Saturday, he replies:

“Oh on Friday, no! For what do you take us? There’s not a vulgar omen we’re neglecting. On Saturday, please, at the Oratory, at three o’clock – before twelve assistants exactly.”

“Twelve including *me*?”

It struck him – he laughed. “You’ll make the thirteenth. It won’t do!”  
 “Not,” said Charlotte, “if you’re going in for ‘omens.’” (495)

An ancient Roman augur would certainly take this conversation as a bad sign,  
 foreshadowing their extramarital affair.

The fourth chapter confirms Colonel Assingham’s ancient military characteristics. While at first being quickly introduced in strictly bellicose terms (498-9), he is then promptly placed in antiquity once more by having his facial features likened to those of the feared Attila the Hun (500). In fact, his own wife confirms this association by remarking that “you’re perfectly immoral. You’ve taken part in the sack of cities” (512). Then, when recalling how the Prince’s background at one particular time attracted Maggie so, Fanny remembers having thought “[b]y that sign ... he’ll conquer” (509), a translation of Constantine the Great’s motto, “ἐν τούτῳ νίκα” (Euseb. *Vit. Const.* I.28), after his apparent vision just before the Battle of the Milvian Bridge in AD 312.<sup>34</sup> She then continues stressing the ancient Roman history of the Prince on the very next page (510).

Chapter V reveals the great extent of James’s classicism. As the Prince is strolling through the streets of London with his past lover Charlotte, her cosmopolitanism becomes more evident to him than the last time they had met in Rome. Through her the Prince realizes that “Rome was in comparison a village, a family-party, a little old-world spinnet for the fingers of one hand” (523), so much so that “[b]y the time they reached the Marble Arch it was almost as if she were showing him a new side.” The Marble Arch is designed

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<sup>34</sup> Kventsel sees this as an example of *translatio imperii*, but eastbound, since this first Christian emperor moved the capital from Rome to Constantinople (139) and Alexander the Great’s empire expanded from Greece toward India: “With the rise of the American Collector [e.g., Adam Verver], the westward progress of civilization has reached its final stretch; it now reverses its course” (145). Believers of *translatio imperii*, however, ignore Tacitus:

Robbers of the world, after plundering everything on earth, now even the sea they search, if an enemy is rich, they are avaricious, if poor, ambitious, not the East or West can satiate them: alone in the world they covet wealth and poverty with equal zeal. (*Agr.* XXX)  
 Imperialists do not necessarily care so much about where they are or where they are headed.

after the Arch of Constantine in Rome (Timbs 190), and the progression from village to global empire as represented by an imperial monument smacks of the main narrative of *Ab Urbe Condita*. That the arch is of marble alludes to Suetonius's comment in his biography about Augustus: "so that Rome should be deservedly glorified he left it in marble, having received it in brick" (XXVIII.3). This scene is also self-referential. On the one hand, this afternoon promenade of former paramours juxtaposes well with the Colosseum episode in "Daisy Miller" when Winterbourne walks under the Arch of Constantine at night before meeting his potential lover Daisy in the arena. On the other, it also represents the *translatio imperii* theme present in *The Ambassadors*, but this time from Rome (as represented by the Prince) through Britain (the Marble Arch) to America (Charlotte and "her curious world-quality" [N 6: 523]). The fact that the Prince is named after one of the greatest European explorers of the western hemisphere, Amerigo Vespucci, due to his lineage from his mother's side of the family (508-9), and eventually marries an American, Maggie, makes him seem all the more like an Aeneas figure, whose wanderings also led him to a western continent and wife. Through the deployment of Latin authors, Roman architecture and self-intertextuality containing classical themes, evidence of James's Augustanism as a whole begins to expose itself in this novel.

But no discussion about the Augustan authors would be complete without mention of Ovid. The sixth and last chapter of Book First is set in a curiosity shop where "[o]f decent old gold, old silver, old bronze, of old chased and jeweled artistry, were the objects that, successively produced, had ended by numerously dotting the counter" (529), a reference to at least the first three of the four successive ages of man as recounted in the first book of the *Metamorphoses* (lines 89-124), the last being iron (125-50) not jewels. The store also contains "a classic monument or two, ...; things consular, Napoleonic, temples,



obelisks, arches, tinily re-embodied,” this last, choice word hinting at the transformations throughout the poet’s epic. To be sure that the poem does not escape the notice of the reader, all of these objects together emit an air “of the due proportion of faint poetry.” In order that the clerk cannot understand them, the “old-Roman” (531) Prince and Charlotte speak in Italian, the closest modern equivalent to Latin, the language of the *Metamorphoses*. Helping the couple to choose a wedding gift for Maggie, the shopkeeper proposes a crystal bowl plated in gold – in fluent Italian as well (532)! Although it contains a crack, it would only truly break if “dashing it with violence – say upon a marble floor” (535). “[M]arble floors,” for Charlotte, are

a connexion with many things: with her old Rome, and with *his* [Amerigo’s], with the palaces of his past and, a little, of hers; with the possibilities of his future, with the sumptuosities of his marriage, with the wealth of the Ververs.

This brief allusion again to the pageant of Roman heroes in Virgil’s *Aeneid* VI, as in *The Ambassadors* and *Daisy Miller*, where the past and the future are connected to the present, does not distract James from his original Ovidian intention. For when Charlotte handles the golden bowl, Amerigo twice, once before her inspection of the object (531) and another time afterwards (537), cries “Per Bacco!” “For Bacchus!” a fitting exclamation framing a precious drinking vessel fit for the god of wine.<sup>35</sup> In the eleventh book of the *Metamorphoses*, also, is the best preserved version of King Midas and his golden touch, recounting how it was Bacchus who granted the Phrygian monarch his regrettable power (lines 85-145).<sup>36</sup> The couple do not purchase the bowl in the end, but like his mythical, royal counterpart Prince Amerigo will experience a sense of regret when Maggie buys the

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<sup>35</sup> The only other time this expression is used is by Count Valerio of “The Last of the Valerii” (CS 1: 806), another connection between that story and this novel.

<sup>36</sup> This myth appears once more in “The Lesson of the Master” (CS 3: 590).

vessel herself, an act that will later lead to her epiphany about her husband's adulterous affair (*N* 6: 837-55) and accusation to him about it (856-71).

Kventsel (164-5) believes that Book Second introduces Adam Verver as, among other things, a version of the divine blacksmith Hephaestus (Roman Vulcan):

The spark of fire, the point of light, sat somewhere in his inward vagueness as a lamp before a shrine twinkles in the dark perspective of a church; and while youth and early middle-age, while the stiff American breeze of example and opportunity were blowing upon it hard, had made of the chamber of his brain a strange workshop of fortune. (*N* 6: 540)

The Book is set at Fawns, the country residence of the Ververs, that Kventsel further feels might be a version of Arcadia (165) since Adam Verver views it as "his labyrinth" (*N* 6: 596) and Charlotte is later even acting like a Minotaur of sorts in it (Kventsel 168).

It is also tempting, especially with James's fondness for names, to compare Fawns with the House of the Faun in Pompeii.<sup>37</sup> A faun is a Roman mythological figure often associated with woodland areas, while one of the "eighty rooms" (*N* 6: 546) in the house is a "vast square clean apartment ... and its large clear windows looked out into spaces of terrace and garden, of park and woodland" (539), not unlike the building plan of the rather large ancient house. The Italian resort is also where the famous Alexander Mosaic was discovered, depicting the Battle of Issus against the Persian king Darius. James aptly houses his great collector in a home of comparable prestige to that containing one of the more famous finds in classical archaeology. Sergio Perosa (158) has already noted how in the previous Book Adam Verver is even likened to the Macedonian conqueror, when living in London at "Portland Place, where Mr. Verver had pitched a tent suggesting that of Alexander furnished with the spoils of Darius" (*N* 6: 468). Finally, James had been to the

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<sup>37</sup> Vidal believed that the name comes from the French *fons*, or "source," because the estate is where Adam Verver keeps his collection which functions like a fountain of culture for Maggie (Kventsel 139, 218 n.2).

Bay of Naples several times in his life, the last being in 1899 (*HJL* 4: 107-8). It was probably then, not so long before the writing of *The Golden Bowl*, when he may have (re)visited Pompeii, a site that crops up in his works from time to time as already seen in the previous chapters. Indeed, this trip, and Naples in particular, made such an impression on the Master that he included the experience in *The Wings of the Dove*, written just before *The Golden Bowl*:

Many things, though not in many weeks, had come and gone since then, and one of the best of them doubtless had been the voyage itself, by the happy southern course, to the succession of Mediterranean ports, with the dazzled wind-up at Naples. (*N* 5: 291)

The architecture at Fawns affects Adam Verver's perception of the Prince's first visits to the country house, equating his new son-in-law to "a great Palladian church" (*N* 6: 545-7), a form of Neoclassical architecture. Even "[t]he sun star[ing] down in *his* fullness" (546; my emphasis) is a personification of the star in its classical mythological male form of Helios/Sol, not unlike how the narrator of "Daisy Miller" refers to the moon in equally feminine terms.

Alexandrian connotations return in the next chapter, where Adam Verver "had had to like polishing and piling up his arms" (552) so that he could eventually set them in American City where he was planning a

Museum of museums, a palace of art which was to show for compact as a Greek temple was compact, a receptacle of treasures sifted to positive sanctity, his spirit today almost altogether lived, making up, as he would have said, for lost time and haunting the portico in anticipation of the final rites. (553)

Like any civilized ancient, Verver has "the passion for perfection at any price," a classical quality already noted in the discussion on symmetry in Chapter II above. His daughter and the Prince produce for him a grandson called Principino (554), Little Prince, whose name might remind readers of the Horatian Dolcino from "The Author of *Beltraffio*."

Toward the end of the fourth chapter there is a list of the Prince's properties: a palace, villa and castle (566). The first, "the house in Rome, the big black palace, the Palazzo Nero, as he was fond of naming it,"<sup>38</sup> may have three origins: the Roman Palazzo Roccanera in *The Portrait of a Lady* (N 2: 567-747); the extravagant *Domus Aurea*, Golden Home, in Rome built by Nero (Suet. *Ner.* XXXI.1-2; Tac. *Ann.* XV.42); or "the villa of black Tiberius" (CTW 2: 610) on the island of Capri.

The second property is "the villa in the Sabine hills, which she [Maggie Verver] had at the time of their engagement seen and yearned over" (N 6: 566). In the very next paragraph, Maggie thinks

even should he some day get drunk and beat her, the spectacle of him with hated rivals would, after no matter what extremity, always, for the sovereign charm of it, charm of it in itself and as the exhibition of him that most deeply moved her, suffice to bring her round. (567)

The Sabine setting, violent imagery and reconciliatory language at the end all point to the Livian legend of the Rape of the Sabine Women (I.9). Just like Romulus who abducted the women for the sake of Rome's future survival, Amerigo marries Maggie in order to keep his Roman property intact.

The third and last piece of land is

the Castello proper, described by him always as the "perched" place, that had, as she knew, formally stood up, on the pedestal of its mountain-slope, showing beautifully blue from afar, as the head and front of the principedom. (N 6: 566)

This one seems to be based on the Villa Barberini<sup>39</sup> in Castel Gandolfo, which is situated on a hill, hence the emphasis on the fictional castle's height. James stayed there in 1899 when he visited Mrs. Humphry Ward, who had rented it for three months to write a book

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<sup>38</sup> The name he chooses is playfully ambiguous because "nero" in Italian means "black," but the work can also refer to the last Julio-Claudian emperor Nero.

<sup>39</sup> Maffeo Barberini, later Pope Urban VIII, was the first pope to stay there and the first to issue a papal bull from the villa in 1626.

set in Rome. Beneath this villa are the remains of the walls of the emperor Domitian's villa, and they visited Diana's place of worship at nearby Lake Nemi, where Caligula would throw his wild orgies on ships (Edel *Henry James* 4: 296-8).<sup>40</sup>

Their maintenance and the

cloud of mortgages ... had from far back buried them [Amerigo's family] beneath the ashes of rage and remorse, a shroud as thick as the layer once resting on the towns at the foot of Vesuvius, and actually making of any present restorative effort a process much akin to slow excavation. (*N* 6: 566)

Once more, James resorts to ancient Roman imagery, in this case to the long buried cities of Pompeii, Herculaneum, Stabiae, Oplontis and Monte Bursaccio to embellish the Prince's dire financial situation, which drives him to marry the wealthy Maggie.

Chapter IV of Book Second is where Adam Verver's physical appearance is finally given. The description of most of his features, namely his hair, beard, cheek, chin and eyes (570-1), is so similar to that of Count Valerio's in "The Last of the Valerii" (*CS* 1: 798-9) that it is very most probably a revision. In the tale the count resembles the bust of the emperor Caracalla in the Vatican Museum (Fig. 1), while in the novel Adam Verver wears a "little black 'cutaway' coat" (*N* 6: 571) on one occasion and a "sleeveless cape" (593) on another, not unlike Caracalla's famously popular Gallic cloak.<sup>41</sup> Furthermore, Caracalla was obsessed with Alexander the Great<sup>42</sup> to whom Adam Verver has already been associated. Mr. Verver even sees his daughter as a statue in the Vatican or Capitoline

<sup>40</sup> It is interesting to note that ships represented for the Romans the introduction of decadence because it enabled access to degenerate foreign cultures (Edwards *Politics* 147), while decadent "[p]leasure ... is wet, soft (*mollis*, *enervis*) and characteristic of slaves" (174). *The Golden Bowl* contains much sea-faring and other watery imagery (Priest), suggesting that in this novel James may be presenting immorality in such Roman terms of fluidity.

<sup>41</sup> Cass. Dio LXXIX.3.3; Hdn. IV.7.3; SHA *M. Ant.* IX.7-8, *Sev.* XXI.11; Gibbon 1: 686 n.9. Captain Lurcher of *Tenants* (1890) dons an Inverness cape (*CP* 273, 276, 278) and employs military language (275, 276, 277). Teddy Ashdown from *The Album* (1891) is dressed similarly (355), while other characters in the play speak similarly (366, 370). Scott Homer of "Mrs. Medwin" (1901) also "wore a scant, rough Inverness cape and a pair of black trousers" (*CS* 5: 361). Finally, the army cadet Owen Wingrave in *The Saloon* (1908) appears "in a longish Inverness cape" (*CP* 671), too.

<sup>42</sup> Cass. Dio LXXVIII.7-9.1, 22.1; Hdn. IV.8.1-2, 6-7, 9, 9.3-4; SHA *M. Ant.* II.1-2; Gibbon 1: 56, 687 n.40.

museum or a nymph on an ancient vase (*N* 6: 582-3),<sup>43</sup> closing the chapter in as classical a manner as it opened.

There are no ancient allusions in the next two chapters, but the Book does end with one in its seventh and last chapter. In Paris, while pondering the marriage of his daughter to Prince Amerigo, Adam Verver sees to the guests in his hotel court as “gathered barbarians” waiting for “the due amputation or extraction of excrescences and redundancies of barbarism” (614). At first the sentence seems typical of the late Jamesian style, but the symbolic ramifications are profounder than usual. Presumably most of these tourists are American, as he and his new wife Charlotte are. The Prince too, as seen at the curiosity shop, views her in these terms, albeit with the almost incredulous, yet nevertheless pleasant, proficiency in Italian. James often described himself and his fellow compatriots as being uncivilized throughout many of his writings, a few examples of which have already been mentioned in the Introduction and Chapter I above. There are, of course, many others instances from both his fiction<sup>44</sup> and non-fiction,<sup>45</sup> all of which were written from as early as 1869 to as late as 1914.

At the turn of the twentieth century, most Americans were buying culture, while Henry James sought to create it. By attempting to purchase it – as is best portrayed in his play (1909) and next novel (1911) *The Outcry* – he felt they were in fact destroying it, much like the Visigoths, Vandals and Ostrogoths sacking Rome in 410, 455 and 546, respectively (*CP* 785). The Saracens and Normans, whom the Romans/Byzantines also viewed as barbarians, sacked Rome too in 846 and 1084, respectively. There is, of course,

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<sup>43</sup> According to Kventzel (198), he sees Maggie in a similarly nymph-like form later too (*N* 6: 909-10).

<sup>44</sup> *CP* 83, 249, 206; *CS* 1: 420; 2: 510, 794; 3: 591, 620, 622, 629, 680, 721-2; *N* 1: 228, 268, 308, 546; 3: 784-85.

<sup>45</sup> *Au* 257; *CLHJ* 1872-6 1: 208, 278; 1876-8 1: 113; *CN* 126, 128; *CTW* 1: 26, 154, 290, 292, 295, 357, 570; 2: 390, 464, 583.

the very first sack in 390 BC by the Gauls as preserved in Livy V.39-43.5, and since Verver is in France when he views the American tourists as barbarians, then it could very well be Livy that James was thinking about when he wrote this passage. Perosa has duly noted that “[i]t has been estimated that the fifty museums existing in America at mid-century had risen to 600 in 1910 and would rise to 2,500 in 1914” (152), and gives Bernard Berenson (1865-1959) as an example of one such collector who contributed to this increase (153, 160). Adam Verver, being the massive collector that he is and with his projected museum for American City, is the fictive consummation of this American/barbarian analogy. It should be noted, too, that his daughter Maggie is also later described at one point in such barbaric terms (*N* 6: 951).

There is a dearth of classical references in the first three chapters of the next, third Book. At the end of the fourth chapter, however, Virgil’s *Aeneid* VI is conjured up once more. While their spouses are together at Portland Place minding the Principino, Charlotte decides to visit the Prince. She appears to him as “an apparition charged with a congruity at which he stared almost as if it had been a violence” (654), not unlike the moment when Aeneas meets Dido’s shade in the underworld while her husband’s shade is significantly waiting afar (lines 450-76). An odd feeling of déjà vu comes over Amerigo; “for he remembered no occasion in Rome from which the picture could have been so exactly copied” (*N* 6: 655), a sensation recalling once more the pageant of Roman heroes, as the narrator goes on:

The sense of the past revived for him nevertheless as it hadn’t yet done: it made that other time somehow meet the future close, interlocking with it, before his watching eyes, as in a long embrace of arms and lips, and so handling and hustling the present that this poor quantity scarce retained substance enough, scarce remained sufficiently there, to be wounded or shocked.

In this scene James masterfully links both major events of *Aeneid* VI in such a way as to enable the Prince and Charlotte to rekindle their past relationship, an act that Aeneas and Dido will never be able to accomplish again. Thus, inversely and ironically, the passage recreates an equally forbidden love of epic proportion, while at the same time recreating the trance-like half-unreality or waking dream of Aeneas's katabasis which would result from such a momentous occasion.

The chapter following the next one contains another Virgilianism, but this time not from the *Aeneid*. At a social dinner, the Prince and Maggie note how the event contains an "almost Arcadian optimism" (671), recalling the pastoral qualities examined previously in *The Ambassadors*. There is about as much pastoral reference in *The Golden Bowl* as there is in the preceding novel, as already seen with the Gardens of Lucullus, Cincinnatus and Fawns above. The Roman agricultural writers M. Porcius Cato (234-149 BC), M. Terentius Varro (116-27 BC) and L. Junius Moderatus Columella (AD 4-c. 70) associated rustic life very closely with the "golden age" of the early republic (Edwards *Politics* 149). Likewise James's fondness for nature, which can be seen not just in these two novels but in much of his writings, can therefore be read as a longing to return to the antebellum ruralism of his own country, when mankind seemed to be more morally upright; in other words, the very theme of Livy's history.

In Chapter VII, at a party during the Easter weekend in the English country house of Matcham, the guests' curiosity about their each other's private affairs is personified as the goddess (Roman) Justitia / (Greek) Dike, weighing with her scales the veracity of their gossip (*N* 6: 678). A brief mention should be made here about the country house itself, which is the same as that of *The Sacred Fount*, for Kventsel views it and its guests as the utopia imagined by Socrates in Plato's *Republic* (91), the first book of which is about the



meaning of justice. In the very next paragraph, their suspicions about the Prince and Charlotte and their impatient desire to learn about the couple are likened to “some infant Hercules who wouldn’t be dressed” (*N* 6: 679). This entire situation seems to be “governed by a spell, that of the smile of the gods and the favour of the powers” as well as by Amerigo’s “old Roman life.” It seems as if James took any opportunity to equate events in his narrative with their appropriate classical counterparts.

In the next chapter, IX, the Prince and Charlotte leave Matcham early in order to spend a few romantic hours alone in Gloucester before returning to London and their spouses (697-701). It is interesting to note how this couple is only intimate in Rome and at former Roman colonies, namely London (665) and Gloucester, ancient Glevum, founded in AD 48 during the emperor Claudius’ invasion and colonized by Nerva in 97. Indeed, just before setting off for the latter city, Charlotte tells Amerigo to wait a moment in Italian, “*Vengo, vengo!*” (696), “I come, I come!” whose sexual double-entente makes quite clear the purpose of their sojourn. The Prince, therefore, *conquers* where his ancestors also did.

In the second chapter of the second volume the reader learns that whenever Maggie leaves her father’s home at night,

She had not less punctually kissed her stepmother, and then had bent over her father, from behind, and laid her cheek upon him; little amenities tantamount heretofore to an easy change of guard – Charlotte’s own frequent, though always cheerful, term of comparison for this process of transfer. Maggie figured thus as the relieving sentry, and so smoothly did use and custom work for them that her mate might even on this occasion, after acceptance of the pass-word, have departed without irrelevant and, in strictness, unsoldierly gossip. (753)

Considering Charlotte’s deceptive behavior and Maggie’s eventual resolution, a parallel can be drawn here with the relationship between Caligula and one of his bodyguards, qualifying the sexual and military language present in that passage:

When it had been agreed to assault him at the spectacle of the Palatine games as he left at noon, Cassius Chaerea, a tribune of a cohort of praetorians, demanded the main part for himself; for Caligula would lay insults of all kinds upon him, now elderly, denoting him as soft and effeminate, and sometimes when asked for the password Caligula would give “Priapus” or “Venus,” while other times given thanks for some reason Caligula would offer his hand to be kissed, forming and moving it in an obscene manner. (Suet. *Calig.* LVI.2)

Like Chaerea, Maggie has her pride and so this episode is alluded to for the purpose of foreshadowing her ultimate solution. In the end, she removes, albeit in a more tactful manner as is consistent with Jamesian sensibilities, her Caligula by convincing her father to return to America with his wife thus eliminating the affair and danger to both marriages.

In the next chapter, the prince feels that his wife is monitoring his every move, so closely in fact that

[i]f he could say the right [things] everything would come – it hung by a hair that everything might crystallise for their recovered happiness at his touch. (*N* 6: 773)

Here the narrator describes how Maggie is beginning to suspect her husband of adultery by using the legend of the sword of Damocles (seen before in the Introduction) to inform the reader about how precarious a position the Prince is in.<sup>46</sup> Furthermore, although Amerigo has the power to heal, it is viewed more like the ironic golden touch of King Midas. That all three men are of Mediterranean royalty suggests once more that James selects impeccable classical allusions to sophisticate his narrative.

If the Prince comes from royalty, then the Ververs are divine. Quoting line 155 of Tennyson’s Homeric “Lotos-eaters” (1842), Adam says about as much to his daughter when discussing their excessive time together instead of spending more quality time with their respective spouses:

A kind of wicked *selfish* prosperity perhaps, as if we had grabbed everything, fixed everything, down to the last lovely object for the last glass case of the last corner,

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<sup>46</sup> This proverbial legend appears twice more in the novel (*N* 6: 889, 913).

left over, of my old show. That's the only take-off, that it has made us perhaps lazy, a wee bit languid – *lying like gods together, all careless of mankind*. (N 6: 793; my emphases).

On the next page, he qualifies what he means:

“I don't say it's me particularly – or that it's you or Charlotte or Amerigo. But we're *selfish* together – we move as a *selfish* mass. You see we want always the same thing,” he had gone on – “and that holds us, that binds us, together. We want each other,” he had further explained; “only wanting it, each time, *for* each other. That's what I call the happy spell; but it's also a little – possibly – the immorality.”

“‘The immorality’?” she had pleasantly *echoed*.

“Well, we're tremendously moral for ourselves – that is for each other; and I won't pretend that I know exactly at whose particular personal expense you and I for instance are happy.” (794; my emphases)

Two pages later, he concludes:

Well, morally – from the point of view I was talking of; that of our sinking deeper into sloth. Our *selfishness* somehow seems at its biggest down there. (796; my emphasis).

With all this talk about heavenly selfishness and echoing, Ovid seems again to be conjured up, but this time it is the myth of Echo and Narcissus, as it was in “Daisy Miller.”<sup>47</sup>

In the eighth chapter of Book Fourth, the princely couple are described in both Greek and Roman ways. At first, Maggie is given the title of “mistress of shades” while her husband “was the master of shades” (829), an allusion to the royal couple of the underworld, Persephone/Kore (Roman Proserpina) and Hades (Roman Pluto). Later, Maggie often visits the British Museum to see the ancient Roman remains “for the glory of the name she bore ... all testifying in their degree to the quality of her husband's blood, its rich mixture and its many remarkable references” (833). Once more, James takes full advantage of all the resources at hand to associate his characters with the classical heritage and to dignify his work.

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<sup>47</sup> Claggett, too, has found this myth in the ghost story “The Jolly Corner” (1908), written at roughly the same time as *The Golden Bowl*.

In the next chapter, Livy's legend of Marcus Curtius, mentioned in junction with *Roderick Hudson* above, reappears "as the rider of a plunging horse grasps his seat with his knees" (843). James uses this metaphor to show how tightly Maggie keeps the knowledge of her husband's adulterous affair with her step-mother from her father. For Maggie, "[i]t was like a fresh sacrifice for a larger conquest," resisting the natural, initial urge to tell her father for the sake of a better, long-term solution, just as Curtius selflessly gives his life for the greater good of his country's future by riding his horse into the hole in the forum.

Book Fourth ends with yet another mythological association to Maggie and the Prince. When the latter discovers the broken pieces of the golden bowl, Maggie decides to confess to him her strong suspicions of his infidelity. Before she does so, their involvement in this complex situation is likened to the myth of Theseus and the Labyrinth (Kventsel 189). Equating the Prince with the male hero is obvious enough, but here Maggie is described as being both Ariadne and the Minotaur at the same time:

Hadn't she fairly got into his labyrinth with him? – wasn't she indeed in the very act of placing herself there for him at its centre and core, whence, on that definite orientation and by an instinct all her own, she might securely guide him out of it? (*N* 6: 860)

A closer look at her seemingly contradictory associations reveals that they, in fact, make perfect sense together. Maggie is like Ariadne in her relationship with the Prince, one in which the latter even sexually abandons her as Theseus literally does. Yet, she is also like the evil Minotaur in that it is her (and her father's) fault, to a certain extent, that this adulterous affair even arose. For after marrying the Prince, she urged her father to marry Charlotte, feeling that she had rendered her father lonely. By spending more time together after their marriages, they only drove their neglected spouses into each other's arms. As for the ancient myth, it is best preserved in Ovid (*Met.* VIII.169-76) and Plutarch (*Thes.* XIX),

while James uses it on three other occasions: once in “The Modern Warning” (1888; *CS* 3: 430) and twice in *The American Scene* (1905-6; *CTW* 1: 401, 495). The latter were written at about the same time as *The Golden Bowl*, suggesting that James may have (re)read Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* around the start of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

In the next, fifth Book, out on the balcony at Fawns, Maggie decides to confront Charlotte about the affair. The latter denies any wrongdoing without naming any particular crime, while the former’s response is something akin to an accusation but not quite, it was “something that might resemble a rare flower snatched from an impossible ledge” (901); that is, something more diplomatic. This flower, incidentally, is one of the blue ones protruding from the many crevices of the Colosseum that Roderick Hudson dangerously tries to procure for Christina Light (*N* 1: 337-40). Unlike Roderick who dies a bachelor in the end, however, Maggie manages to salvage her marriage.

The last, sixth Book opens with Maggie trying to persuade Amerigo to travel abroad together, but the Prince “stood as fixed in his place as some statue of one of his forefathers” (6: 950). This reference to Roman sculpture is soon coupled with one to literature:

It was strange, if one had gone into it, but such a place as Amerigo’s was like something made for him beforehand by innumerable facts, facts largely for the sort known as historical, made by ancestors, examples, traditions, habits; ...

It seems likely that Livy’s *exempla* are being invoked here, perhaps more specifically that in which some tribunes, after the infamous Gallic sack of Rome in 390 BC, urged everyone to abandon the city and migrate to Veii, but Camillus convinced them to remain (V.51-4).

The typically late Jamesian sentence continues:

...; while Maggie’s own had come to show simply as that improvised “post” – a post of the kind spoken of as advanced – with which she was to have found herself connected in the fashion of a settler or a trader in a new country; in the likeness even of some Indian squaw with a papoose on her back and barbarous beadwork to sell. (*N* 6: 950-1)

The royal couple, not unlike Strether and Madame de Vionnet in *The Ambassadors*, personify once more *translatio imperii et studii* to such a degree that the only difference is a switch in the gender roles. Like the aristocratic Marie, the Prince represents the power and knowledge of the Roman empire as manifested in ancient art objects and manuscripts; while, like her male American counterpart in Paris, Maggie symbolizes the enlightened being from the artless New World. Indeed, in the very last chapter of the novel, she looks at

her husband and remembered her mission. Her mission had quite taken form – it was but another name for the interest of her great opportunity: that of representing the arts and the graces to a people languishing afar off and in ignorance. (974)

It is through their marriage, issuing in the conception and birth of the Principino in New York (554), that the transfer of power and culture westward progresses as expected.

In the penultimate chapter of the novel, a philological simile is used to show how confused Maggie is as the climax of the plot approaches:

she, Maggie, had so shuffled away every link between consequence and cause that the intention remained, like some famous poetic line in a dead language, subject to varieties of interpretation. (965)

It can be safely assumed that the “dead language” in question is either Greek or, more probably, Latin, recalling Perry’s remark in the Introduction above about James having “less Greek.” The American author, therefore, not only employs the Classics, but also the study thereof, in his art.

In the very last scene, still waiting for her husband to return from leaving their son with his governess causes Maggie anxiety because it will be the first time that she will see Amerigo without Charlotte, who has moved back to the United States with Adam Verver. This sensation is described in Caesarian terms: “She had thrown the dice, but his hand was

over her cast” (981).<sup>48</sup> This passage is not the first time that James uses a version of this Suetonian expression (*Iul. XXXII*), as other traces of the Latin biographer have already been noted in “Daisy Miller” and this novel. *Iacta alea est* occurs on three other occasions: in a letter to a friend dated 5 January 1895 (*HJL* 3: 506), in “The Tree of Knowledge” (*CS* 5: 223) of 1900 and in “Flickerbridge” (431) of 1902. It is what Caesar (100-44 BC) proclaimed when he crossed the River Rubicon (Suet. *Iul. XXXI.2*) triggering a civil war in Rome. James also wrote Elizabeth Boott in 1877 that Claire de Cintr  of *The American* “could never have crossed the Rubicon” (*CLHJ* 1876-8 1: 130). All this evidence, then, suggests that James may have read Suetonius earlier in life and then reread him, as he probably did Ovid, later.

As can be seen, along with most of James’s works, including “Daisy Miller” and *The Ambassadors*, *The Golden Bowl* is full of classical references from the very beginning to the very end, especially Roman ones, some of which seem to come from the Latin historians. Like Livy’s *Ab Urbe Condita* as a whole, which despite its various settings is really about one city, almost all images in *The Golden Bowl* lead to Rome too. And like Clement Searle of “The Passionate Pilgrim,” mentioned in the first chapter above, much of England reminds the Prince of his native land, such as the Thames and the Tiber at the outset of the novel and at Matcham with “the old marble balustrade – so like others that he knew in still more nobly-terraced Italy” (*N* 6: 692). Strangely enough, though the Italian capital is sometimes mentioned by name, no action ever takes place there during the real time of the story. This peculiarity is a result of the city’s functioning similarly to Mrs. Newsome, who is a constant presence throughout *The Ambassadors* but never appears herself. Both resemble entities always floating just under the surface of the characters’

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<sup>48</sup> Kventsel notes more generally that “die” comes from the Latin *dare*, to give (203).

consciousness, a technique that a connoisseur would expect from an author known for his psychological realism. Therefore, unlike “Daisy Miller” and *The Ambassadors* where the settings enhance the effect of the literary allusions, *The Golden Bowl* achieves the opposite; i.e., the classical invocations in this case constantly remind the reader of the Roman world.

### *Title*

The title of the novel is very symbolic. Quentin Anderson believes that it may derive from the Bible, both the Old (223-4) and New Testaments (331 n.40), or from William Blake’s “Thel’s Motto” of *The Book of Thel*. A decade and a half later, Edel added Greek mythology as an explanation by equating “the cup of gold from Hebe” (CS 5: 741), a divine cupbearer, in “The Velvet Glove” as the one in *The Golden Bowl* (*Henry James* 5: 357). If James’s biographer is correct, then it would be interesting to associate Hebe with Charlotte, who wanted to purchase the bowl for Maggie, and, furthermore, view her shopping companion, Amerigo, as another of Zeus’s cupbearers, Ganymedes, who is also a handsome prince but from Troy,<sup>49</sup> Rome’s mother country. Mostly recently, Kventsel has merged the Greek mythological explanation with Q. Anderson’s Blakean one (66, 216 n.8).

In addition to these mostly ancient allusions, two Roman ones are possible. In Latin a bowl can be expressed as *crater(a)*, *patera* or *peluis*. The first, according to the *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, is more of “[a] mixing bowl” (I: 499), the second “[a] broad, shallow bowl or dish, esp. one used in libations” (II: 1441) and the third “[a] shallow bowl or basin, usu[ally] of metal” (1455). The object in the novel resembles the last two:

a drinking-vessel larger than a common cup, yet not of exorbitant size, ..., it stood on a circular foot, a short pedestal with slightly spreading base, and, though not of signal depth, justified its title by the charm of its shape as well as by the tone of its surface. It might have been a large goblet diminished, to the enhancement of its happy curve, by half its original height. (N 6: 532)

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<sup>49</sup> Hom. *Il.* XX.230-5; Davies fragment 6 of *Little Iliad*; Eur. *Tro.* 822.



In the second volume of the novel it is further qualified as “a capacious bowl, of old-looking, rather strikingly yellow gold, mounted by a short stem on an ample foot” (840) and “[i]t was brave and firm and rich, with its bold deep hollow” (846). There are several examples in Latin literature of *patera/peluis aurea* in their various declensions, two of which are particularly interesting since they serve as a gift, as in the novel. The oldest of all these occurrences comes from Plautus’s *Amphitryon* in which Jupiter, disguised as Alcmena’s husband, presents her with a *patera aurea* after having slept with her (lines 260-796 *passim*), thus committing adultery, albeit unbeknownst to Alcmena. The other, Livy, contains the largest amount of instances, nine in total. Although one of them does not present the golden bowls as gifts (XXVI.47.7), the rest do. The recipients are Juno (VI.4.2; XXVII.37.10 [the only one that uses *peluis*]), Ceres (X.23.13), Rome (XXII.32.4 [accepted], XXII.36.9 [not accepted]) and foreign kings (XXVII.4.8-9; XXX.15.11; XLIV.14.2). The two offered to Juno are the most significant for three reasons. First, she is the goddess of women and especially marriage, the very institution that concerns Maggie. Second, the givers are Roman women, and Charlotte can speak Italian. The third reason is two-fold: in the earlier source, the Roman wives place three bowls before Juno’s feet, the same number of pieces that the bowl splits into when Fanny breaks it and Amerigo walks in to find them “at this lady’s feet” (*N 6*: 854); in the later source, it is just one bowl. Furthermore, in both cases, the women create the bowls from melting their jewelry together and re-fashioning them, while Maggie procures hers from a jeweler who says that it was made “by some very fine *old* worker and by some beautiful *old* process” (533; my emphasis).

More connections can be made with the other Livian sources and the novel. For instance, the golden bowl given to the north African chief Syphax weighed five pounds (Livy XXVII.4.8), the same price that Charlotte tells the prince that the jeweler wanted (*N* 6: 536-7). Also, Rome does not accept 39 of the 40 the golden bowls offered by Naples (Livy XXII.32.4) and it refuses the one offered by Paestum (36.9), just as Charlotte never buys the bowl and Maggie can never give it to her father for his collection because Fanny breaks it.

Whether James intended all or even some of these allusions is beside the point. The point, in the end, is that golden bowls were highly regarded gifts, given by none other than the king of the gods himself and offered to no one less than his queen and other divinities, kings and even the city of Rome. Choosing this object as the title of the novel raises its status to lofty heights indeed. Along with the Bible, Greek mythology and *The Book of Thel* by William Blake, Plautus's *Amphitryon* and Livy must also be considered as potential inspirations for the title of *The Golden Bowl*.

### *Structure*

*Prima facie* the six Books of *The Golden Bowl* resemble a Tacitean hexad, especially since no other ancient author wrote in sixes. This number has been associated with the divisions of the *Annals* and *Histories* since the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and seems to represent half of the number of Books of Virgil's *Aeneid* (Syme *Tacitus* 2: 686, n.2), which in turn is half of that of a Homeric epic (Hardie 86). To strengthen this connection, various classicists have already noted the many allusions to the Latin poet in Tacitus's works, the two most recent, major studies being E. Henry's "Virgilian Elements in Tacitus' Historical Imagination" and N. Miller's "Virgil and Tacitus Again." Much like

Tacitus, as just seen in the survey of classical references in *The Golden Bowl*, James includes many Virgilianisms in the novel too.

Whether *The Golden Bowl* was intended as a Tacitean hexad or not, however, one certainty about its organisation is its symmetry, a classical characteristic already discussed in the previous chapter and one shared by “Daisy Miller” as well as *The Ambassadors*. More specifically, the two volumes of three books each can be compared with the third decade of Livy, which deals with the Second Punic War. As Andreola Rossi shrewdly notes, these ten Livian books work much like Plutarchan parallel lives of Hannibal and Scipio whereby the first pentad focuses on the Carthaginian general and the second on his Roman counterpart (359-69).<sup>50</sup> The first volume of the American novel, similarly, is narrated from Amerigo’s perspective, while the second from Maggie’s, hence another reason for their subtitles: *The Prince* and *The Princess*.

What is more, Rossi notes how Livy uses this structure to provide an example of degeneration (369-80). From Books XXI to XXV Hannibal lets his guard down because he has no peer, thus making himself susceptible to Scipio from Books XXVI to XXX. Later, in Book XXXVIII, there are two contrasting versions of how the Roman’s career ends: the first sees him retire peacefully to Campania (53.8); the second portrays him as acting more self-interestedly in Rome (56), not unlike Hannibal, thus warning Augustan readers about the corruptive dangers of power (Rossi 379-80). This technique is employed in *The Golden Bowl* for a similar purpose. The Prince’s budding affair in the first volume is juxtaposed by his wife’s shrewd solution in the second leading to an equally ambiguous conclusion. When

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<sup>50</sup> In addition to the ancient Roman connections with “The Siege of London” already discussed at the beginning of this chapter, the tale is also a work divided into ten parts with another Livian allusion found in its title. For, the reader is reminded of the siege of Veii, which, furthermore, took *ten* years to capture, the same length of time the Greeks spent to besiege Troy (Ogilvie 670).

the novel closes, Maggie cries in Amerigo's arms, a scene that has elicited various interpretations among readers, too many to list here. Yet one more might be that in order to save their marriages Maggie feels guilty about having convinced her father to return to America in an underhanded manner, a dangerous precedent demonstrating how an immoral act can produce a favourable, even necessary, response. If one were to extend this analogy somewhat further by personifying Maggie as America and by extension Amerigo as Europe, then the anxiety that James felt for the future of his country begins to manifest itself. For, learning from more worldly Europe, the United States were beginning to realise how, in order to act as the new superpower they were becoming, they would have to start employing potentially compromising methods in order to remain at the summit of the international community, a conclusion not dissimilar to that arrived at with "Daisy Miller."

#### *Machiavellian Characters*

The bridge between *The Golden Bowl* and Livy/Tacitus is Machiavelli,<sup>51</sup> who has already been mentioned at various points throughout this chapter. In his preface, Livy wrote that he wanted to present virtuous historical examples to imitate and evil ones to avoid in order to help morally improve his contemporary audience who was living, in his opinion, in corrupt times. The Florentine philosopher saw himself in the same situation, only in early modern Italy. James continued this tradition when criticising the moral ambiguities of his own day in *The Golden Bowl*. He accomplishes this feat by creating four morally problematic personages, all of whom have some affinity with the controversial political theorist who derived many of his ideas from the Latin historians.

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<sup>51</sup> The Livian influence on Machiavelli is easily seen via the *The Discourses on the First Decade of Titus Livy*, whereas the Tacitean one has been argued by intellectual historians (Barcia; Burke "Tacitism" 149-50, 158, 165-6; F. J. Levy 237-51; Michel; Pocock 351-2, 422; Whitfield 285-91; Womersley 314, 316-7, 323-7).

In order to explore the ethics presented by these characters, it is necessary to understand the morality of Machiavelli first. The Florentine has long been considered immoral, or at least amoral, since his death in 1527. From the Church's banning *The Prince* in 1559 to Leo Strauss's condemning *Thoughts on Machiavelli* (1958), the Florentine has gained a negative reputation. But in recent decades political scientists have begun to understand, primarily through his *Discourses*, that Machiavelli in fact advocated the creation of a free and equal republic (Rahe), a most noble endeavor if there ever was one. The unfortunate side effect of building such a state, however, is that it often becomes a violent and bloody affair, a harsh reality that many do not like to accept. Not only did Machiavelli accept it, he actively persuaded Lorenzo de' Medici, Duke of Urbino, in the dedication to and in the last chapter of *The Prince*, to adopt whatever methods necessary "to Take Italy and Liberate It from the Hands of the Barbarians" (XXVI),<sup>52</sup> returning it to the honorable republican state that Livy and Tacitus idealised. It is this very contradiction of sometimes having to act immorally in order to attain a moral result that continues to haunt the legacy of Machiavelli and his works to this day.

This conflicting dichotomy of having the proverbial "ends justify the means" is prevalent in *The Golden Bowl*. Charlotte Stant, for instance, seeks stability by marrying the millionaire Adam Verver. Despite her best intentions to do her wifely duties at first, her husband nonetheless continues to prefer the company of his daughter, especially after the birth of his grandson. This neglect, which Maggie emulates with her spouse, only drives Charlotte and Amerigo, former lovers in Rome, into each other's arms again. Since the adulterous couple's affection for their respective spouses is not reciprocated, they feel compelled to find it in each other.

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<sup>52</sup> Note the barbarian reference here along with such imagery already discussed in *The Golden Bowl*.

Maggie Verver is often described in moralistic language throughout the narrative, and her love for her fiancé is never questioned, but this still does not prevent her from objectifying him; she even goes so far as to call the Prince at one point “a *morceau de musée*” (*N* 6: 463), “museum piece.” Amerigo, in the meantime, is not repulsed because his family has fallen on financially hard times, rendering such a marriage helpful in acquiring the necessary funds to continue supporting his title and heritage. In order to gain a royal pedigree that money alone cannot purchase, Adam Verver sanctions the union, and his daughter is only more than happy to become a princess. Maggie, furthermore, is based on Countess Peruzzi, the daughter of James’s friend William Wetmore Story, who married a de’ Medici (Edel *Henry James* 4: 291). Adam Verver is no less prone to objectification, despite his rather amiable character, when he is figuratively described as keeping his wife on a “cord” (*N* 6: 768, 934, 956, 974). Once she suspects adultery, Maggie convinces him to return to America with Charlotte. Parting from her father is an extremely painful task, but nevertheless essential not just to save their marriages but also to learn finally how to become independent of his constant paternal support so that she may finally mature into a fully grown woman of her own means. These constantly difficult decisions between deep desire and stark reality mark the novel as being truly Machiavellian. Despite her sacrifices and perhaps even deft deceptions (for in vintage Jamesian fashion it is never presented in concrete terms whether Adam Verver learns about the affair or if Charlotte and the Prince realize that they have been caught), Maggie’s solution produces healthy lifestyles and homes for both couples that civic-minded Machiavelli would surely advocate. C. Brook Miller, too, stresses this very public ending to the novel (195-8).

No doubt the Latin historians too would approve of such behavior from Maggie. Her husband predicts that she will become “the Roman matron ... a Cornelia in miniature”

(*N* 6: 672), the famous daughter of Scipio Africanus and mother of the Gracchi brothers, who exemplified “wifehood and motherhood.” To pursue the metaphor, *matrona* is also one of Juno’s titles,<sup>53</sup> while it has already been shown how Maggie is likened to the goddess. In the end, Maggie emerges from her status as daughter to demonstrate matronly qualities (Kventsel 186) in her handling of the delicate situation.

If Maggie is Cornelia, then it is tempting to view her father as Scipio Africanus, conqueror of Hannibal, or at least another great general of the Second Punic War. Marcus Claudius Marcellus was the very first art collector, according to Livy (XXV.40.1-3) and Plutarch,<sup>54</sup> because his spoils from the island of Sicily in 212 BC included for the first time ever not just the usual money, weapons, livestock and slaves, but also luxury items such as statues of divinities and other precious objects that once removed from their religious and civil contexts for the sake of beautifying Rome became the first act of art appreciation in recorded history. Adam Verver’s purpose in Europe is not much different:

To rifle the Golden Isles had become on the spot the business of his future, and with the sweetness of it – what was most wondrous of all – still more even in the thought than in the act. The thought was that of the affinity of Genius, or at least of Taste, with something in himself – (*N* 6: 550)

In essence he spends most of his time purchasing art objects with the intention of eventually displaying them in his museum at his native American City. Such purchases of European treasures and their relocation to the United States was, of course, heavily criticized by James, whose *The Outcry* condemns this very behavior.

Although the play and novel were both written after *The Golden Bowl*, this theme about the mass acquisition of European art has a precedent. In “The Point of View” of 1882 (M. Claudius?) Marcellus Cockerel writes from Washington, D. C. to Mrs. Cooler in

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<sup>53</sup> *CIL* I.378, V.5450; Hor. *Odes* III.4.59; Livy XXI.62.8.

<sup>54</sup> *Marc.* XXI; also Polyb. IX.10, but without mention of Marcellus.

California that “[w]e shall have all the Titians by and by, and we shall move over a few cathedrals” (CS 2: 561). Adam Verver seems therefore to be the culmination of this trend by being portrayed as a general constantly carrying off booty, both objects and persons.

In addition to these Second Punic War commanders, Adam has already been associated with another Roman, namely Caracalla (or at least his bust), one of the less reputable emperors, to whom Count Valerio also resembles. In “The Last of the Valerii,” the narrator tells his god-daughter that he “believed she had married the Count because he was like a statue of the Decadence” (1: 802). If Count Valerio is decadent, then presumably so is Adam Verver, which would explain the strong physical resemblance between both characters outlined earlier. But Adam should not be viewed as an exact modern rendition of Caracalla or even Marcellus, the latter whom Plutarch (and to a lesser extent Livy) blames for planting the seeds of decadence in Rome. Instead, Adam’s figurative *Romanitas* is juxtaposed with the literal kind of the Prince’s in order to show that the former is no better a human being in his selfishness (Rowe “Nationalism and imperialism” 254) and objectification (Nussbaum “Objectification” 254-5, 288-9) than his son-in-law is in his mercenary marriage and adulterous affair. In summary, Adam Verver can be identified with many classical figures, namely Hephaestus, (Tennyson’s) Homer, Alexander, Marcellus, Scipio and Caracalla.

The connections with these ancients, however, do not necessarily mean that Adam understands them himself. In the Introduction to Book I of his *Discourses*, Machiavelli criticizes the buyer who purchases a piece of a classical statue just to adorn his house, but does not read the ancient histories in order to truly absorb what antiquity has more importantly to offer – namely the finest examples for conducting a successful public life (1:



190-1). It is clear from this character sketch that James has created such a collector who lacks the sense of civic duty that results from not reading Livy or Tacitus.

The Livy/Tacitus-Machiavelli-James connection, then, is best understood in the American's so-called international theme whereby the innocent and naive 19<sup>th</sup> century Americans can be paralleled with the virtuous early Romans whom Livy and Tacitus both cherished so much. By the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, James begins to portray his compatriots as growing much more worldly, not unlike the corrupted Romans of Livy's and Tacitus's times who were so loathed by Machiavelli.

To be sure, the Renaissance writer appears in other Jamesian writings besides *The Golden Bowl*. The first mention of Machiavelli by James may occur in "A Passionate Pilgrim" (1871) in which the narrator describes the property of the Searles "as the villa of an Italian prince" where "you can wander all day ... like a proscribed and exiled prince, hovering about the dominion of the usurper" (CS 1: 565). This country estate may be modeled on the Albergaccio at Sant'Andrea in Percussina where Machiavelli wrote his (in)famous works after being expelled from his government job by the Medici when they took over power in nearby Florence, which can be seen from the window of his study before which his desk still stands. James visited the place in 1874 when he wrote in a letter that the Florentine was "great" (CLHJ 1872-6 2: 170). In another tale from 1871, "At Isella," the narrator mentions Lucrezia Borgia (CS 1: 627), the sister of Cesare, Machiavelli's ideal prince.<sup>55</sup> Two years later James bought *The Revolution and the Reforms in Italy* by Giuseppe Ferrari (CLHJ 1872-6 2: 26), who also wrote *Machiavelli Judge of Revolutions of Our Time* (27). Padre Girolamo in "Adina" (1874) is very

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<sup>55</sup> In March 1881 James also saw a lock of her hair at the Ambrosian Library in Milan (HJL 2: 351). The only other Jamesian character with the same name is Lucretia Daintry of "A New England Winter," but she does not seem to resemble Lucrezia Borgia or even Livy's Lucretia (I.57-9).

reminiscent of Fra. Girolamo Savonarola, the notorious “Unarmed Prophet” of *The Prince*’s sixth chapter. When Clair de Cintr  asks in *The American* (1876-7), “Are you trying to please me by praising my brother[?]” Christopher Newman offers a very Machiavellian response: “For me, any way that succeeds will be good. I will praise your brother all day, if that will help me” (N 1: 629).<sup>56</sup> Her brother, Valentin de Bellegarde, is no less Machiavellian when he later tells Newman that “[s]uccess justifies everything” (658). In 1877 James encouraged his friend and historian Henry Adams to become “the Machiavelli” of Boston (CLHJ 1876-8 1: 39-40). In *The Portrait of a Lady* (1880-1) Isabel Archer calls one of Lord Warburton’s questions “Machiavellian” (N 2: 272). Later Countess Gemini likens Madame Merle to the Italian writer (457) while Ralph Touchett thinks of Mr. Bantling in the same way (701). A few years later Mark Ambient of “The Author of ‘Beltraffio’” (1884) is familiar with the biographies “from history and fiction, and, above all, from the annals of the time that was dear to him beyond all periods – the Italian *cinque-cento* [1500s]” (CS 2: 882). In addition to the obvious reference to Giorgio Vasari’s *Lives of the Most Excellent Italian Painters, Sculptors, and Architects, from Cimabue to Our Times* (1550; enlarged edition 1568), adding Machiavelli’s historically-filled writings (1513-25) would not be misplaced in a moral tale about a mother who kills her son for his own good. Nearly two decades later Morris Gedge of “The Birthplace” (1903) calls his situation “Machiavellic” (5: 490). In addition to the Machiavellian allusions in *The Golden Bowl* (1904), in his preface to the New York Edition of *The Reverberator* (1907-9), James writes that “I liked betimes to put it for a romantic analogy with the state of dispossessed princes and wandering heirs” (LC 2: 1205), a close description of Cesare

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<sup>56</sup> *The American* is also divided into 26 chapters, like *The Prince*. Perhaps James viewed the Christopher Newmans, or robber barons, of his day as the new American Princes?

Borgia. Finally, he was friends with H. G. Wells, who published *The New Machiavelli* (1911), a copy of which he owned (Edel and Tintner 65).

When the dates of the allusions to Livy,<sup>57</sup> Tacitus<sup>58</sup> and Machiavelli<sup>59</sup> throughout James's writings are compared, one notices that they tend to occur in more or less the same periods, namely from 1869 to 1878 and from 1897 to 1911. These years roughly correspond to his early (e.g., "Daisy Miller") and late (e.g., *The Ambassadors*) phases; i.e., when he worked on his international theme. Furthermore, since James's notion of writing fiction is largely based on historiography, then the Latin and Italian authors may well have served as his models. Of all his writings, *The Golden Bowl* represents this characteristic best whereby all the classical references discussed thus far function in much the same way as Livy's, Tacitus's and Machiavelli's examples do in their books – to instruct. For, after all, until the 19<sup>th</sup> century, "the writing of ancient history continued to be regarded mainly as a literary activity, philosophy teaching by examples" (N. Vance *Victorians* 54).

#### *A Tale of Two Morals*

As noted in Chapter I, James was influenced by Horace's *Art of Poetry*, which, among its many wise suggestions, advises that writing should mix *utile dulci*, "the useful with the pleasant." This chapter, consequently, will conclude by focusing on the former in this section and on the latter in the next. By "useful" Horace means that every story should contain a moral; *The Golden Bowl* has two: fidelity and (philosophical) spiritualism. By means of the negative examples presented in the preceding segment, the Prince and Charlotte personify adultery, while the Ververs materialism. Not often joined, the reason for their coupling in this novel lies in James's Augustanism.

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<sup>57</sup> 1860, 1869-78, 1884-5, 1888-9, 1891-2, 1904, 1909, 1911, 1914.

<sup>58</sup> 1869, 1878, 1897, 1901, 1904.

<sup>59</sup> 1871, 1873-4, 1876-7, 1880-1, 1884, 1903-4, 1907-9.

All four ancient authors under analysis promote in their works the values that Augustus tried to instill in his countrymen. This is certainly the case with the writings of Horace and Virgil, whose patron was Maecenas, the emperor's right-hand man, and whose works are often interpreted as examples of Augustan propaganda.<sup>60</sup> Livy did not write under such patronage; and even though critical of the Principate at first, he eventually began to appreciate the Augustan regime for the values he and the emperor shared and the resulting peace and stability that those virtues seemingly brought. Tacitus's opinion of Augustus is more difficult to discern for two reasons. The first is because he lived a century later and only begins his histories with the first emperor's death. The second is that by his time the principate had gradually morphed into what appeared to be more of a tyranny, and the consequent loss of political freedom for a high-ranking senator like himself (Birley) was loathsome. Despite this lack of *libertas*, the ethics found in his works nevertheless correspond with those advocated by his predecessors, albeit presented cynically.

The morals in question were the *mos maiorum*, the custom of the ancestors, a set of unwritten rules for proper conduct in ancient Roman society. Until the late second/early first centuries BC, the *mos maiorum* remained the disciplinary framework that kept the state running smoothly. Continual imperial expansion and the ensuing violent struggles for ever-increasing power that defined the Roman revolution (133-30 BC), however, eventually rendered mention of the code to little more than cliché (Blösel 90-1). Essentially, what the Romans needed by the late republic was a heavily enforced written constitution since the *mos maiorum* simply was not being adhered to any longer. Only when the civil wars were won by Octavian, who then finally established peace by reorganising the state, could the *mos maiorum* be reintroduced. Reappearing in the form of Augustus's social policies, these

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<sup>60</sup> O'Keeffe 62-3; Powell; Woodman and West 1-128; Zanker 156-227 *passim*.

values gradually began to manifest themselves in the works of Horace, Virgil and Livy, especially after 18 and 17 BC when such reforms went so far as to be legislated.

Of these approximately nine resulting Julian Laws, a third are of particular interest: the Julian law on marriage, that on adultery and the sumptuary law. The first punished marriageable celibates, even when widowed, as well as couples who did not have children; the second banished adulterers; and the third limited luxurious spending (Lassard and Koptev “1. Leges Regiae, Rogatae, Datae”). As for Augustus’s intentions, they are best summarized by Anne Kathryn O’Keeffe:

Through his marriage, sumptuary and adultery laws, Augustus assumed responsibilities which formerly had been associated with the jurisdiction of the *paterfamilias* [“father of the family;” i.e., male head of the house]. These laws, however effective they might have been, opened up avenues for Augustus to assume the role of the father of the Roman state. Nowhere did Augustus penetrate Roman family life so much as in his moral legislation. He initiated this program of moral reform to restore the Roman sense of *pietas*. The laws were designed to encourage proper marriages and the production of children, to check extravagance and luxury, and to penalize adultery and irregular sexual relations. The religious and pictorial program supported this moral reformation of Rome and affirmed Augustus as the “Father of His Country.” (7)

As is evident, the resemblances between these laws and *The Golden Bowl* are striking: objectifying billionaire widower, Adam Verver, is encouraged by Maggie to marry, both of whom then spend much more time with her child than does her husband, who instead commits adultery with her step-mother, a transgression that she rectifies by convincing her father to return to America with his wife, a banishment of sorts. Maggie Verver, from this reading, can be viewed an Augustus-figure, or a kind of *materfamilias*.<sup>61</sup> It would not be too far from the truth to consider her furthermore as a *mater patriae*,

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<sup>61</sup> This idea already appears in the earlier novel *The American*, whose strong classical connections have already been noted by Tintner (*Pop* 109-10) and Italia, where the Frenchman Urbain de Bellegarde is the *chef de la famille*, as they say; he is the head of the clan. With those people [European aristocracy] the family is everything; you must act, not for your own pleasure, but for the advantage of the family. (*N* 1: 589)

“mother of her country,” as opposed to the original Roman title of *pater patriae*, “father of his country,” since it would be in line with her aforementioned Juno aspects as well.<sup>62</sup> To borrow another Augustan term, Maggie is thus the *princeps* (first [among equals]), or the protagonist of the novel, because she is the one who has changed/improved the most by her steep learning curve in maturity; hence, yet another reason for the title of the latter half of the book – *The Princess*.<sup>63</sup>

It should be recalled that in the academic year of 1862-3 (*Au* 307) a 19-year-old James enrolled at Harvard Law School (411-54), where Roman law would have been introduced, it being the basis of most legal systems in the Western world (Howe). In *Notes of a Son and Brother*, James remembers his experience there in ancient terms whereby

save for one or two minor and merely comparative miscarriages of the sacrificial act before my false gods [professors], my connection with the temple [Harvard Law School] was to remain as consistently superficial as could be possible to a relation still restlessly perceptive through all its profaneness. (*Au* 438-9)

Although he never completed the curriculum, James still considered that time as being “The Turning Point of My Life,” according to the title of a dictated note taken in 1900 or 1901 (*CN* 437),<sup>64</sup> since it was then when he began to write his “first literary nosegays” (438); described classically again in his autobiography:

..., I still then had to take myself for might perhaps hope to woo the muse. The muse was of course the muse of prose fiction – never for the briefest hour in my case the presumable, not to say the presuming, the much-taking-for-granted muse of rhyme, with whom I had never had, even in thought, the faintest flirtation; and she did, in the event, I note, yield to the seduction of so appointed a nook – as to which romantic passage, however, I may not here anticipate. I but lose myself in the recovered sense of what it richly “meant” to me just to *have* a place where I could so handsomely receive her, ... (*Au* 439-40)

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<sup>62</sup> Leverenz similarly calls Maggie a “paternalist” (169-84).

<sup>63</sup> Kventsel also notes these Roman matronly, imperial and Machiavellian connections (195-6, 198), yet does not mention Augustus.

<sup>64</sup> Horne wrongly dates or misprints the unfinished article to 1910 (“Henry James and ‘the forces of violence’” 247 n.10).

In a more specific passage, he even recalls a studious classmate there, Beach Vanderpool Jr., who “inspires my muse” (435). It is not surprising, then, that legal language appears in Latin relatively frequently throughout much of his writings, and that at Bourges, France in 1883 or 1884, he made the particular effort of visiting

the habitation for many years of the great jurisconsult [Jacques Cujas] who revived in the sixteenth century the study of the Roman law and professed it during the close of his life in the university of the capital of Berry. (CTW 2: 102)

Coupling this legal knowledge with his Latin studies, James understood the intimate connection between the Roman legal system and ancient Augustan literature, a observation that Kristina Milnor also notes in her study “Augustus, History, and the Landscape of the Law,” citing specific examples from Ovid (9), Horace (10-2, 14-5, 16, 22-3), Tacitus (12-4, 16, 22-3), Propertius (16), Suetonius (20) and especially Livy (15-23).

The Julian Laws of 18 and 17 BC were extremely unpopular, and the marriage one was especially so that in AD 8 a second law, the *lex Papia Poppaea*, was needed to strengthen it (Suet. *Aug.* XXXIV; Tac. *Ann.* III.25, 28). The emperor felt so strongly about his social ideals that he banished his own daughter, Julia the Elder, for supposedly committing adultery.<sup>65</sup> Posterity, however, has viewed her as a gentle and learned woman (Macrob. *Sat.* II.5). In an incredible descent of inherited guilt, her daughter, Julia the Younger, and granddaughter, Julia Livilla, were found guilty of adultery as well, but modern historians now believe that the condemnations were just cloaks for the more serious charges of treason.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> Cass. Dio LV.10.12-6, 13.1, LVI.32.4; Sen. *Ben.* VI.32.1; Suet. *Aug.* XIX.2, LXV.2-4, *Tib.* XI.4, L.1; Tac. *Ann.* I.53.1-2; Vell. Pat. II.100.5.

<sup>66</sup> See Syme *Roman Revolution* 425-7 for Julia the Elder, Norwood for Julia the Younger, and Ginsburg 12-5 for Julia Livilla.

Julia the Elder, consequently, is no stranger to English literature. She has appeared in Ben Jonson's *Poetaster* of 1601, for instance. Norman Vance identifies the Byronic Don Juan's first lover, perhaps the most famous Julia in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, with her (*Victorians* 158). Her name, at least, also features several times in James's works. In the short story "A Problem" of 1868, five years after James's experience at Harvard, a married couple with a child learns of two prophecies. The first is a "*dictum*" (CS 1: 308) from an old native American woman, who is described as a "swarthy sybil" (309), predicting that their daughter will die very young. The other is that they would both marry twice: the future of the husband, David, was told by "a young lady ... less than twenty ... at a party ... telling people's fortunes ... " (311) with cards; while that of his wife, Emma, was by "an *old Italian* – a woman" (310; my emphasis). As these "oracles" (313, 314) begin to have a negative psychological affect on their relationship, Emma starts seeking comfort in the company of other men, which drives David to befriend a certain "Julia – a very charming, superior person, of a character to exert a healing, soothing influence upon his troubled spirit" (315). Emma naturally becomes jealous and leaves him. Months later their child indeed dies and, with a little prompting from the priest presiding at the funeral (318-9), the couple reunite – with, of course, the tacit implication that they will reproduce again. The last words are given to David's friend:

"Well," said Julia, a fortnight later – for in the interval Emma had been brought to consent to her husband's maintaining his acquaintance with this lady, and even herself to think her a very good sort of person – "well, I don't see but that the terrible problem is at last solved, and that you have each been married twice." (319)

As is evident, some of the very *problems* that the *Julian* Laws addressed are present in this tale: marriage-divorce/separation, child bearing and (supposed) adultery. The Julia in this story serves two purposes: the first is that she, like Augustus's eponymous descendants, is



(falsely) accused of adultery; the second that paradoxically in the end she advocates the officially sanctioned Augustan policy of conjugal unity.

“A Problem” in this way, then, can be considered a precursor to *The Golden Bowl* because neglect causes marital strain amid a host of classical references. In the later work, there is even the reintroduction of a cleric in whose company Maggie takes some comfort (*N* 6: 934-6). The only element missing in the tale is the other, intertwining theme of materialism that renders the novel doubly more sophisticated. Finally, in typical Jamesian fashion, as seen with “Daisy Miller” and *The Ambassadors*, there is also symmetry, or more accurately duality, in *The Golden Bowl* via its two Julias: Charlotte naturally representing the adulterous Julia(s), while Maggie symbolises the strictly rectifying Julian Law(s).

“Julia Bride” (1908), whose pathetic title character with her half dozen broken engagements, along with her mother’s two (and soon to be three) divorces, also resembles Julia the Elder and her descendants; the family name being very ironic, too. The germ of this late short story appeared the previous year when in the third of his four-part essay “The Manners of American Women” (1907) James criticises the rise “in the [United] States of cheap and easy divorce” (*HJC* 104). According to Peter Buitenhuis, the root of this problem for James was the material culture that was becoming widespread in his native country at the time, subordinating people’s feelings of love as men viewed success in terms of dollars and women tried to marry into it (“From Daisy Miller to Julia Bride” 144-5). This big change in America since the 1870s prompted James to write a “companion-study to ‘Daisy Miller’” (*LC* 2: 1276), reflecting Julia’s experience instead of Daisy’s innocence, the former’s knowledge in place of the latter’s ignorance (Buitenhuis “From Daisy Miller to Julia Bride” 146). Furthermore, the protagonist’s name this time would refer much more poignantly to the contemporary relationship between money and marriage than “Maggie”

or “Charlotte” did; four years after *The Golden Bowl* she would be named Julia. As a result, James came full circle thematically: from “Daisy Miller” through *The Ambassadors* to *The Golden Bowl* and beyond, Augustan social values are constantly being promoted.

By the time he started writing *The Golden Bowl*, James had already dabbled in materialism and adultery. As for the first vice, major studies have already been published,<sup>67</sup> while Tintner’s Euripidean “sacred rage” as a metaphor for shopping in *The Ambassadors* has already been noted. Perhaps the Master’s attitude toward capitalism can be best summarised in his sarcastic (and classical) description of the area surrounding Sunnyside, the former residence of Washington Irving, which used to be quiet and quaint, but now

“modernity,” with its terrible power of working its will, of abounding in its sense, of gilding its toy – modernity with its pockets full of money and its conscience full of virtue, its heart full of tenderness, has seated itself there under pretext of guarding the *shrine*. (CTW 1: 484; my emphasis)

As for adultery, it was the subject James’s very first work of fiction, “A Tragedy of Error” (1864). Aside from its hint in “A Promise” (1868), “Madame de Mauves” (1874) is about an American married to an adulterous Frenchman. In the same year, the tale published just before it, “The Last of the Valerii,” whose many similarities with *The Golden Bowl* have already been discussed, can also be considered as containing the theme of adultery in that the count falls out of love with his wife and in love with a statue of Juno. Moreover, not only does Count Valerio prefigure Prince Amerigo in being a poor nobleman who marries a rich American for similar reasons, but he also keeps in the end a hand of the Juno, the goddess of marriage, as if he were still in love with the divinity in much the same way that Amerigo still probably harbours feelings for Charlotte when she leaves Europe. Finally, Maggie persuading her father to return to America with his wife resembles the

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<sup>67</sup> Just three of the most important in English are Bewley 245-58, Dietrichson 23-164 and McCormack.

closely named Martha of the early tale in question who reburies the bust of Juno.<sup>68</sup> These solutions, although they solve their predicaments in practical ways, are also missed opportunities for learning and growing (Stein 70-6), a hint of the Horatian message also in “Daisy Miller.”

Six years later, Madame Merle and Gilbert Osmond of *The Portrait of a Lady* (1880-1) are known to have had an adulterous affair (*N* 2: 750-2). Georgina in “Georgina’s Reasons” (1885) remarries (*CS* 3: 47) and has a child (56) despite still being secretly married to Raymond Benyon, whom she advises to do the same (57). “The Patagonia” (1889) and “The Given Case” (1900), although not concerned with adultery *per se*, come close. Grace Mavis of the former flirts with a fellow passenger on a ship to Europe where her long time fiancé is waiting; while the latter is about two men who are interested in two women, one of whom is separated, the other engaged. “The Special Type” (1900) concerns an imaginary affair purposefully manufactured to cause a divorce. Finally, *The Ambassadors*’s (1903) Madame Marie de Vionnet is sleeping with Chad.

When contrasting it with its French counterpart, James thought that

one can do so little with English adultery – it is so much less inevitable, and so much more ugly in all its hiding and lying side. It is so undermined by our immemorial tradition of original freedom of choice, and by our practically universal acceptance of divorce. (*CN* 103-4)

For these reasons is adultery seen as a crime by Fanny Assingham (*N* 6: 707, 817, 822).

Maggie also views Charlotte as a criminal (887) who, in addition to adultery, has also committed perjury (902). The Prince does not escape his wife’s accusations either (960-1, 963). Such legal language along with the novel’s Roman references recalls the Julian law

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<sup>68</sup> Brodhead 131; Tanner; Wegelin 5.

against adultery, whose general spirit is in harmony with the writings of Horace, Livy and Tacitus among other moralising authors from ancient Rome (Edwards *Politics* 42-7).

Augustus's ethical values, then, seem to be at the heart of *The Golden Bowl*. This influence is not surprising since the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries derived many of their morals from ancient Rome (Edwards *Politics* 2; Vance *Victorians* 3). James's older brother William, for instance, read *History of European Morals from Augustus to Charlemagne* (1869) by William Edward Hartpole Lecky, next to whom James daily sat at breakfast in Florence (*CLHJ* 1855-72 2: 293, 296) around New Year of 1870 (242-3) and whose substantial later book *History of England* (1879-82) James later owned (Edel and Tintner 45). As a result, whereas previous readers of the novel, such as Delbaere-Garant, have found it morally ambiguous ("Early Seeds" 73 n. 14), when viewed from this classical perspective one can begin to appreciate the fusion of both decadent themes, materialism and adultery, into one seamless whole. The golden bowl itself, according to C. Brook Miller, becomes the perfect symbol of these vices:

Its imperfection, introduced into Maggie and Amerigo's drawing room, is a visible symbol of adultery. It also stands as a symbol of the Ververs' cultural project – their acquisition of culture is tainted by the nature of the acquisition. (184)

In this way, as Augustan values are encapsulated in a Livian object, *The Golden Bowl* can be seen as belonging to the myth of Rome.

### *Style*

This subtle interweaving of themes is the culmination of decades of experience, both professional and personal. As he matured not just as a writer but as an individual as well, Henry James moved away from portraying innocence and ignorance in his younger, more poetic, early phase to documenting the experience and knowledge he had gradually

acquired over the years in his late phase. Accordingly, he turned stylistically from the charming brevity of Horace to the didactic prose of the Latin historians.

When commenting on the style of *The Golden Bowl*, some mention will inevitably have to be made of *The Ambassadors* since both novels were written at the same stage in their author's career. In the previous chapter it was noted how epic *The Ambassadors* is, both structurally and stylistically, as James tried to treat his matter in the grand manner. *The Golden Bowl*, too, contains some epic devices, Homeric and Virgilian. Livy, especially in his less historically accurate first decade (McDonald 223, 245-50), writes in a similar fashion (N. Vance *Victorians* 63, 69-70). For instance, in addition to the comparison between the decade-long sieges of Veii and Troy, R. M. Ogilvie (56-8) and A. H. McDonald (244-7) present the episode between Hercules and Cacus in the first book (7.4-7) as being very Virgilian. In fact, *Ab Urbe Condita* has even been viewed as the *Aeneid*'s prose counterpart (Syme *Roman Revolution* 463). The oral tradition, practiced by both Virgil and James, was not lost on Livy either, to whose "orderly narrative could then be added the refinements of wordplay and rhythm that completed the impression by satisfying the ear" (McDonald 242).<sup>69</sup> In fact, the ancient expert on rhetoric Quintilian remarks on how much history and poetry resemble each other, "for history is close to the poets and is in some sense a loose poem" (*Inst.* X.1.31). Gradually, like James's late phase, Livy's later decades become "refined in an equally powerful and evocative style, the achievement of his mature development" (McDonald 254).

James's notoriously convoluted late style, the subject of too much study to list for the purpose here, is remarkably similar to Livy's, about which includes "elaborate sentences, packed with dependent phrases and clauses, that lead rapidly into and out of his

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<sup>69</sup> See N. Vance *Victorians* 63-70 for debunked ballad or lay origins in Livy.

most brilliant pieces of description” (243). Even their diction resembles one another’s, for just as Livy “prefers the literary vocabulary to colloquial and realistic words” (250) so does James. Quintilian writes that Livy’s style is rich (X.1.32), as opposed to Sallust and Tacitus who tend to be brief (Hays 115). Yet, the sardonic tone of Tacitus can nevertheless be detected however slightly in some of the Jamesian irony seen throughout this study so far.

As for Livy, he was just as controversial in antiquity as James was in his time – and still is today. According to Tacitus (*Agr.* X), to A. Cremutius Cordus (*Ann.* IV.34) and to Quintilian (*Inst.* VIII.1.3), for instance, Livy is very eloquent, the Latin Herodotus who wrote beautiful speeches and expressed emotions very attractively (X.1.101). This opinion held true for well over a millennium when 17<sup>th</sup> century French Jesuit and writer René Rapin (1: 234-41) as well as 18<sup>th</sup> century English clergyman and academic Henry Felton (249-50) still praised Livy’s elegance. In fact, this view remains unchanged even today as Peter Burke, too, calls the historian “a master of eloquence” (“A Survey of the Popularity of Ancient Historians, 1450-1700” 151).

At the same time, however, Quintilian accuses Livy of committing prolixity (*Inst.* VIII.3.53), while Caligula too thought him verbose (Suet. *Calig.* XXXIV.2).<sup>70</sup> A similar dichotomy of opinion exists among Jamesian readers, the most telling being the following summation by H. G. Wells in *Boon* (1915):

The thing his novel is about is always there. It is like a church lit but without a congregation to distract you, with every light and line focused on the high altar. And on the altar, very reverently placed, intensely there, is a dead kitten, an egg-shell, a bit of string.... (XIII: 455)

So, “What Does Jamesian Style Want?” in the end, asked David Kurnick recently. He concluded that it aims to depict every character in the best possible light, the most

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<sup>70</sup> Domitian (r. AD 81-96) does not seem to have liked Livy either, but his hatred appears to be politically, and not stylistically, motivated (Suet. *Dom.* X.3).

compelling evidence for this conclusion deriving from the preface to *The Tragic Muse* (1907-9):

No character in a play (any play not mere monologue) has, for the right expression of the thing, a *usurping* consciousness; the consciousness of others is exhibited exactly in the same way as that of the “hero”; the prodigious consciousness of Hamlet, the most capacious and most crowded, the moral presence the most asserted, in the whole range of fiction, only takes its turn with that of the other agents of the story, no matter how occasional these may be. (*LC* 2: 1112-3)

This goal does not differ much from Livy’s, who stresses the importance of the common good over that of the individual. The Latin historian, for this reason, among others, was a patriotic writer; despite coming from Patavium, he loved Rome. James can thus be seen as his English-speaking counterpart, an analogy best left to the critic Carl Clinton Van Doren to articulate:

Henry James, ... , never ceased to regard America as essentially an outlying region of European, more specifically of Anglo-Saxon, civilization. The differing governments of England and the United States were simply nothing to him, ... For this craftsman in language it was language which outlined the empire of the English and bound its various parts together in spite of such surface matters as ocean and revolution. He was a loyalist to the tongue of England. And of course speech was for him but a symbol of all the customs which he thought of as centering in or about London and to which he drew near and nearer with a passion of return which implies an atavistic hankering in the blood. In other words, Henry James was a patriot to his race, and his final transfer of citizenship, though immediately called forth by his sense of America’s procrastination in the World War, was but the outward sign of a temperamental repatriation already complete. (163-4)

### *Conclusion*

The plethora of ancient politico-military references throughout this symmetrically structured novel suggests the influence of classical historiography. Its treatment of Roman values that became the focus of much attention from the late republican period onward implies the impact of authors writing in the early empire. Finally, division of the novel into six parts and ironic language seems Tacitean, while the wordy prose Livian. In the spirit of *Ab Urbe Condita*, the *Annals* and the *Histories*, *The Golden Bowl* depicts a preoccupation

with morals during a time when its author's country, like ancient Rome, became increasingly imperialistic. Jonathan Arac, for one, believes that the novel is a product of the Spanish-American War in 1898 ("The Age of the Novel, the Age of Empire" 102). James also equated the rise in the divorce rate and the increase in the number of museums in late 19<sup>th</sup> century America with this new-found martial confidence, all of which reminded him of imperial Rome and consequently its literature. As Gore Vidal duly noted, *The Golden Bowl* is about "force" ("Cracking 'The Golden Bowl'"), while David Wolf summarizes the book as a tale about the incredibly wealthy Maggie whose "struggle with her husband for power in their marriage becomes a battle for interpretative hegemony" (354). That the Prince is Roman is no coincidence as James responded to American imperialism by imitating fictionally the efforts of the Latin historians. Like them, having already experienced civil war, he feared tyranny, a direction that the current president Theodore Roosevelt appeared to be headed. Livy was alive when Julius Caesar was gruesomely murdered in 44 BC, an act that gave way to the bloody rise of Octavian (43-27 BC), while Tacitus knew the chaotic Year of the Four Emperors (AD 69) and the treacherous killing of Domitian in AD 96. In a letter written to Jessie Allen in 1901 James could see history repeating itself, and he does so again in classical terms:

You make me feel near, at any rate. When you write me so kindly about the hideous American episode [assassination of President McKinley] – almost the worst feature of which is that I don't either like or trust the new President, a dangerous and ominous Jingo – of whom the most hopeful thing to say is that he may be rationalized by this sudden real responsibility. *Speriamo* [Let's hope], as we used to say in the golden age, in the heavenly mansion, along with the ministering angel long, long ago. (*HJL* 4: 202)

The jingoistic president was, of course, Roosevelt, assistant secretary of the navy (1897-8) who had called for the war against Spain and as president (1901-9) advocated his infamous "speak softly, and carry a big stick" foreign policy. Still more like Livy and Tacitus, the



best James could do was to attempt to reach out to the upper-class, who could act as moral role models for the rest of the nation, by encouraging Augustan virtues, two of which in *The Golden Bowl* are family values and *frugalitas*.

*General Conclusion*

That Henry James throughout his life often classicised his writings, both fiction and non-fiction, from sources ranging from Homer to St. Augustine, either directly or sometimes mediated by post-classical writers from Dante to Tennyson, seems clear enough. One of his favourite periods appears to have been the early Roman empire, from Virgil (*Eclogues* c. 39-38 BC) to Tacitus (*Annals* c. AD 120). Thematically, for instance, Horace's *carpe diem* theme can be traced in James's idea of awareness that comes too late; *translatio imperii et studii*, of which the *Aeneid* is the first and most important exponent (Waswo), in his international theme; and the myth of Rome in his criticism of elite Anglo-American society. Yet each of these themes should not be solely associated with one particular work of fiction as outlined in the preceding chapters, for there is considerable overlap. The *carpe diem* theme, for example, can be seen in "Daisy Miller" and *The Ambassadors*, while *translatio imperii et studii* and the myth of Rome in both those works as well as *The Golden Bowl*. In addition to themes, the same can be said for structure, style, setting, imagery, characterisation and didacticism.

From the evidence provided there are three main reasons why James focused on the Augustan authors. The first is that they were introduced to him at a very young and impressionable age, having been drilled into him during his education. The novelist remembered how his father had not instilled into his sons any specific values, leading him in *A Small Boy and Others* (1913) to describe himself and William in likely Livian (I.4) terms as "a defeated Romulus" and "a prematurely sacrificed Remus," "exposed on breezy uplands under the she-wolf of competition and discipline" (Au 127). Leon Edel interpreted this early stage in James's life as his having

a terrible need for order, for design, for apprehending – and later communicating – the world around him in an elaborately organized fashion. It stemmed undoubtedly from the disordered fashion in which, as a boy, he was asked to cope with it. (*Henry James* 1: 116)

This interpretation may explain the presence of Roman values and symmetry found in many of the novelist's works as he may have turned to the Latin Classics for moral and structural guidance.

The second reason is that he may have noticed parallels between Roman and American histories. Both countries were based on violent murder: the ancient on the war between the Trojans and native Italians (and later fratricide), the modern on the bloody conflicts of the Europeans (English, French, Spanish) versus the native Americans. The rape of Lucretia, which precipitated the expulsion of the seventh and last Roman king, may have been seen metaphorically re-enacted in the American Revolution, which was triggered by the tension between the Thirteen Colonies and their monarchical British motherland. These rebellious acts led to the establishments of republican forms of government that became progressively expansionist in an increasingly militaristic fashion. By the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century James could see, though hardly welcome, Octavian in Theodore Rex, as he once called President Roosevelt in 1905 (*HJL* 4: 337). If the United States were transforming themselves into an imperial society, then James would have found affinities with his ancient Augustan counterparts, who had contributed to nation-(re)building by writing highly sophisticated, moralising texts.

The work produced by these authors leads to the third and final reason why James emulated them. Horace, Virgil and Livy were major contributors to one of the greatest periods of Western literary history, and many historians from Ammianus Marcellinus (c. 330-95; Kelly) through Edward Gibbon (1737-94; Cartledge) to Ronald Syme (1903-89; Toher) have often modeled themselves on Tacitus in style if not always

in substance. By incorporating their writings into his, James sought entry into the Western canon while at the same time helping to placing the United States on the literary map (much as Shakespeare and Goethe did for their countries), a life-long ambition as revealed in the quotations from his early letters to Thomas Sergeant Perry, reproduced in the Introduction above. From 1907 to 1909 he wanted posterity to remember him in the grandest manner possible and so published the New York Edition, an anthology incorporating substantial revisions to what he considered to be his most representative works, including prefaces to them, in 24 volumes, corresponding to the number of books in each of the Homeric epics.

Of course, there are other Augustan writers. Ovid (43 BC-AD 17), although prominent in classical reception though not in James, has still been discussed, albeit briefly and sporadically, throughout the whole of this dissertation. Several readers have noted his influence in James's works,<sup>1</sup> but he has been omitted from this study for two major reasons. One is that there is simply a sheer lack of space to include anyone else in this analysis. Another, more importantly, is that Ovid is different in kind from those under discussion here because he is stylistically mischievous and somewhat erotically sly rather than a grave philosopher or moral commentator on Roman history and Augustan ideology. Therefore, James does not engage with him at the same level of high seriousness and imaginative complicity as he, along with other 19<sup>th</sup> century authors (N. Vance *Victorians* 159), does with Horace and Virgil. Ovid, nevertheless, is a handy source of (largely mythological) flourishes and embellishments from time to time as he was with most of James's contemporaries (172-4).

Tibullus (c. 50-19 BC) is another important Augustan author, but James does not seem to have read, or at least referred to, him. The Latin elegist would have to wait

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<sup>1</sup> Albers 496, 637, 809; Boren 106; Claggett; Kventsel 189; Laschinger; McCollough 313-6; Warminski 284.

until 1950 to enter the pages of American literature, when George Santayana (1863-1952) translated lines 1-10 and 83-94 of I.3, entitled “Tibullus Detained by Illness, to his chief Messalla (The Opening and the Close).”<sup>2</sup>

Finally, Propertius (c. 50-2 BC) is another major Augustan, but in this case too is rarely, if ever, employed by James. As noted in the last chapter, there are a couple of possible references to this love elegist. One is in the notebooks, which recount Henry Adams telling James about two step-sisters, Augusta and an adopted Cynthia, whom James imagines being involved in a love triangle (CN 63-4). A month later James decides to turn Augusta into a man, “an Augustus” (67) and change the plot, but in the end it never became a tale (64 n.2). The names and romantic atmosphere smack of Propertius, yet no particular poem can be attached to it. The other allusion may be to James’s use of Endymion,<sup>3</sup> about whom Propertius briefly sings in one poem (II.15.15-6), but so do Ovid (*Her.* XVIII.61-5; *Ars am.* III.83) and a host of other authors such as Keats. As a result, since Propertius was furthermore not usually included in school curricula, it is unlikely that James ever read him. But he did not have to wait as long as Tibullus to become Americanised, however, for only one year after James’s death in 1916 Ezra Pound (1885-1972) published “Homage to Sextus Propertius” (1917).

The American poet also conferred classical dignity on James, immortalising him in his seventh *Canto* (1919):

And the great domed head, *con gli occhi onesti e tardi*  
 Moves before me, phantom with weighted motion,  
*Grave incessu*, drinking the tone of things,  
 And the old voice lifts itself  
 weaving an endless sentence. (lines 21-5)

After late James’s baldness, “with eyes honest and slow” is a reworking of line 112 of Dante’s *Inferno* IV, *con occhi tardi e gravi*, “with eyes slow and grave,” describing the

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<sup>2</sup> On this M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus, see the previous chapter.

<sup>3</sup> CS 1: 907; 2: 297; 5: 756.

looks of the pagan ancients inhabiting the first circle of Hell, whose “gentle voices” (*Inferno* IV.114) parallel his “old voice.” Just before this passage, Dante and Virgil had been conversing with Homer, Horace, Ovid and Lucan (lines 82-105), all of whom are present in James’s works, while Homer, Ovid and more “old men’s voices” reappear in Pound’s *Canto* (VII.3-19). The Latin for “gravely by his walk” in line 23 of Pound recalls the *vera incessu* from *Aeneid* I that appears in “The Figure in the Carpet,” discussed in the second chapter above. There can be little doubt that Ezra Pound understood James’s Augustanism. By invoking Dante and Virgil in his own *Canto*, he inaugurates himself and James respectively as the American equivalents. Merely three years after his death, the Master had indeed been canonised.

# Appendices

## Appendix A.1: Classical References in James's Plays

Number	Page	Reference
1	CP 83	Ah, barbarian! is that the way you understand me?
2	CP 105	...; she'll make no sacrifice to the unknown gods. If the gods will only not come knocking some fine day at her door, to demand arrears! I've always been absurdly considerate; I've left her to the gods to deal with.
3	CP 105	..., the gods <i>do</i> avenge themselves! They don't come nowadays in thunder and pestilence; they don't blast our crops nor slay our children; they quietly punish us through our own passions.
4	CP 105	..., let me rest on my laurels.
5	CP 113	Jupiter Tonans has forgotten his thunder to flirt with – with Hebe! If I were only an old pagan, I'd spend the money in vows! Truly, I <i>am</i> pagan enough for that!
6	CP 156	The future of democracy! You remind me of the infant Hannibal.
7	CP 206	Can that barbarian [Newman] be her [Mme. de Cintré's] reason?
8	CP 263	The Rhadamanthus your early friend has made of you, sir, is a thing to make one beware of early friendships!
9	CP 312	Barbarian!
10	CP 316	Immortal gods!
11	CP 347	..., every sacrifice that might propitiate the god was naturally not a stranger to this anxious cultivation of limits.
12	CP 362	I'm not the Golden Age, ...
13	CP 415	... – I'm not thinking of a sacrifice to Hymen.
14	CP 422	You're a Stoic – ...
15	CP 510	If you lack diversions you can go and take down the "Grand Cyrus" or eat pears in the great garden. [August. <i>Conf.</i> II]
16	CP 581	Aren't you then a lover of Justice?
17	CP 581	(Sitting there as upright as if she held the scales.) Where's the Justice of your losing this house?
18	CP 657	... – a worship of gods as false as the idols of savages.
19	CP 657	You "find the military Delusion, in short, a crass Barbarism"!
20	CP 658	... – only fixed on me her Medusa-mask of Deadly Disapproval.
21	CP 659	Stricken by the wrath of the gods.
22	CP 669	The One is the symbol of the Other. You may call them the Same – for me. [Neoplatonism]
23	CP 672	You double then my joy that I'm not – to so stupid and hideous a god!
24	CP 691	I'll swear by all the gods – or any other nonsense!
25	CP 710	(But she [Rose] stands there in her vivid meaning like the priestess of a threatened altar; ...)
26	CP 711	It's in the lap of the gods.
27	CP 738	(..., with her mask that is as the mask of Medusa.)

*Appendix A.2: Greek References in James's Plays*

<i>Number</i>	<i>Page</i>	<i>Reference</i>
1	CP 82	You figured simply your divine protectress – the canonized Muse – outraged, insulted, discredited; but cold, relentless and dispassionate.
2	CP 111	One would think that, between you, you'd been brewing a thunderbolt! For heaven's sake, let it come! [Zeus]
3	CP 139	But you will never have any quarrel with Time: he'll touch you very gently.
4	CP 156	O Lord, the Old Man of the Sea.
5	CP 205	That's what I want to remind her of, if I can find her, in this labyrinth.
6	CP 205	Stay here, <i>out</i> of the labyrinth.
7	CP 415	... – I'm not thinking of a sacrifice to Hymen.
8	CP 418	The tragic mask!
9	CP 628	..., like a sort of beautiful young Fate at the elder woman quite hard for a minute, ... [see also CN 457]
10	CP 664	The Shade of all the Shades?
11	CP 674	<i>(When the Shade has passed the cold light of the high window again only reigns, ...)</i>
12	CP 666	I accept my Fate.
13	CP 771	Well, I suppose it came in – save for those awkward Elgin Marble! – mainly by purchase, didn't it?



## Appendix A.3: Roman References in James's Plays

Number	Page(s)	Reference
1	CP 71	[The title refers to the myth in Ov. <i>Met.</i> IV.55-167.]
2	CP 82	I may tramp about half the day, from house to house, but I like to think that I have a little sanctuary at home where I may hang up a few votive knick-knacks to the household gods. This little room is the home of my fancy; it wants no wider field; it calls its guests sometimes from a distance, but it never goes beyond the threshold to meet them.
3	CP 88	[The character Horace may refer to the ancient Roman poet, and Felix is Latin for "happy" or "lucky".]
4	CP 91	Quintessence, I promise you! [The 5th classical element]
5	CP 91	This last hour she seizes! [ <i>carpe diem</i> ]
6	CP 94	I mean that love has kindled its altar fires beneath your very nose, and that the pale vestal [virgin] has scattered her ambrosial incense upon the very air you breathe.
7	CP 105	..., I've wanted to be her good genius.
8	CP 107	You're to hear it <i>gratis</i> .
9	CP 109	The trouble of dealing with really superior scoundrels is, that they have a way of wrapping themselves in their dishonor with as many classic folds as a Roman in his virtue.
10	CP 111	<i>Hinc illae lachrymae</i> ; do you know Latin? [Ter. <i>An.</i> 126; Cic. <i>Cael.</i> LXI.12; or Hor. <i>Epist.</i> I.19.41 (& Porphyrio)]
11	CP 129	Jupiter, that is a little strong! [less common and so more obtrusively classical than "By Jove!"]
12	CP 141	A beautiful afternoon in the gardens of the Pincian Hill in Rome. A view of St. Peter's in the distance.
13	CP 144	I shall have time to stroll round the Pincian with you.
14	CP 145	If at that time Madame is still on the Pincian – ...
15	CP 145	In the Coliseum, at midnight?
16	CP 150	That's a fine name to give to a walk on the Pincian.
17	CP 150	The renowned and delightful <i>Falcone</i> , in the heart of ancient Rome!
18	CP 152	By your expression, the ghost of Julius Caesar!
19	CP 153	..., who thought it all right that she should walk off to the Pincian to meet the handsome Giovanelli.
20	CP 156	In the heart of ancient Rome!
21	CP 156	The Romans were rather tall.
22	CP 156	I don't care for the Romans.
23	CP 157	I supposed you had left the Pincian; ...
24	CP 158	To wander through the old streets, when everything is still; to see the solemn monuments wrapped up in their shadows; ...
25	CP 160	I have no desire to be butchered to make a Roman holiday. [Byron <i>Childe Harold's Pilgrimage</i> IV.1267]
26	CP 160	Since her visit to the Coliseum, ...
27	CP 160	..., to go to enjoy the moonlight in that particularly mouldy ruin, ...
28	CP 161	The Coliseum by moonlight – ...

29	CP 161	<i>Per Bacco!</i>
30	CP 161	..., he [Winterbourne] turned up at the Coliseum.
31	CP 161	He [Winterbourne] gave her up that day on the Pincian; ...
32	CP 163	At the Coliseum?
33	CP 163	At the Coliseum.
34	CP 163	Why didn't you tell me that, when you saw me there [at the Coliseum]?
35	CP 163	It was lovely there [at the Coliseum] in the moonlight.
36	CP 163	..., to take a look at the splendid ruin [of the Coliseum].
37	CP 170	Have you [Mme. De Katkoff] the day on the Pincian, after your arrival, and what you suddenly offered me – what you promised me – there?
38	CP 170	Have you forgotten our moonlight drive through the streets of Rome, with its rich confusion of ancient memories and new-born hopes?
39	CP 315	Jupiter tonans!
40	CP 316	Go or stay – I wash my hands of it! [Pontius Pilate in <i>Matthew XXVII.24</i> ]
41	CP 379	Diana and all her nymphs!
42	CP 443	<i>In vino veritas</i> – ... [Plin. <i>HN XIV.141</i> ]
43	CP 508-9	[Latin language instruction]
44	CP 660	Kate in particular the very Vestal of the Sacred Flame.
45	CP 776-806	[Mantovano; i.e., Virgil. See Dante <i>Purgatorio</i> VI.72-4, VII.86; Tennyson "To Virgil" 19.
46	CP 785	...: such a conquering horde as invaded the Old Civilisation – only armed now with huge cheque-books instead of spears and battle-axes.

*Appendix B.1: Classical References in James's Notebooks*

<i>Number</i>	<i>Page(s)</i>	<i>Reference</i>
1	CN 25	...; disapproving of its tone, thinking his books immoral, pagan, hyper-aesthetic, etc.
2	CN 26	..., with his pagan beliefs, his absence of Christian hopes, ...
3	CN 91	Make your little story, find your little story, tell your little story, and leave the rest to the gods! Ah, how the gods are on one's side the moment one enters the enchanted realm! Ah, consoling, clarifying air of work – inestimable sacred hours! Every doubt of them is an outrage – every act of faith is a triumph!XXXXX
4	CN 128	... – flash about upon him about Mona's barbarism and the horrors of Waterbath?
5	CN 240	It does, poor helpless pen, with what it meets of the ineffable, what it meets of the cold Medusa-face of life, of all the life <i>lived</i> , on every side.
6	CN 270	...: she paid the awful shade of Mrs. Drab, ...

*Appendix B.2: Greek References in James's Notebooks*

<i>Number</i>	<i>Page</i>	<i>Reference</i>
1	CN 8-9	The mother had been a dangerous woman and had entangled him in a flirtation; an unscrupulous charmer – an imperious Circe – ...
2	CN 63	Something probably to be done with the tragedy, the inevitable fate, of this; ...
3	CN 134	Well, eureka! I think I have found it – ...
4	CN 138	...: he <i>wants</i> to, but he wants to wait till he can really say, "Eureka!," and then go and submit his solution to him and get a reply: ...
5	CN 200	So I have to leave her to her fate. "He will read to you till he dies." "Ah, but when will he die?" "Well, you must wait."
6	CN 276	... – on Corinthian capitals of the pillars; ...
7	CN 296	"Howard dear, what I thought was an Elysian dream you have made into a physiological fact."
8	CN 352	Dined Mary Hunter for theatre - "Oedipus Rex" at Covent Garden (with John Sargent and Holworth Williamson.)
9	CN 457	..., like a sort of beautiful young Fate at the elder woman quite hard for a minute, ... [see CP 628]
10	CN 471	With which I cry Eureka, eureka; I have found what I want for Rosanna's connection, ...

## Appendix B.3: Roman References in James's Notebooks

Number	Page(s)	Reference
1	CN 64	[Cynthia and Augusta; Propertius?]
2	CN 67	I get, it seems to me, a really very good little theme, by infusing an important alteration into the idea suggested by Henry Adams ( <i>vide ante</i> ), the story of Augusta, Cynthia, the <i>bâtardise</i> , etc. – making my heroine a hero, my Augusta an Augustus, and making the que[s]tion hinge upon money – an inheritance. [Propertius?]
3	CN 88	... (to “having repeatedly overthrown Venus herself”) ...
4	CN 91	... – to A.A., <i>Vainqueur de Vénus</i> , ...
5	CN 126	The Americans looming up – dim, vast, portentous – in their millions – like gathering waves – the barbarians of the Roman Empire.
6	CN 208	... – and again I see that the little story must be told <i>more mea</i> by a witness, ...
7	CN 222-3	..., out of the stifling <i>calidarium</i> of Italy.
8	CN 274	The way the ‘mean’ little Roman warrior’s statue of Jacobus Secundus [James II] – iron, lead? – ...
9	CN 280	In the old churchyard of St. Giles to look at the bastion of the old [i.e., Roman] City Wall – ‘restored’ alas, after fire in 1897, but massive and quaint.
10	CN 304	russet Arcadia [i.e., Lamb House]
11	CN 530	...; solvitur ambulando – ...
12	CN 532-5	[Aurora]
13	CN 564	... – this is a thing, I need scarcely say, I am not trying thus, <i>currente calamo</i> , to formulate.
14	CN 582-3	They pluck in their terror handfuls of plumes from the imperial eagle, and with no greater credit in consequence than that they face, keeping their equipose, the awful bloody beak than he turns round upon them. We see the beak sufficiently directed in that vindictive intention, ... [Roman via Napoleon?]

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